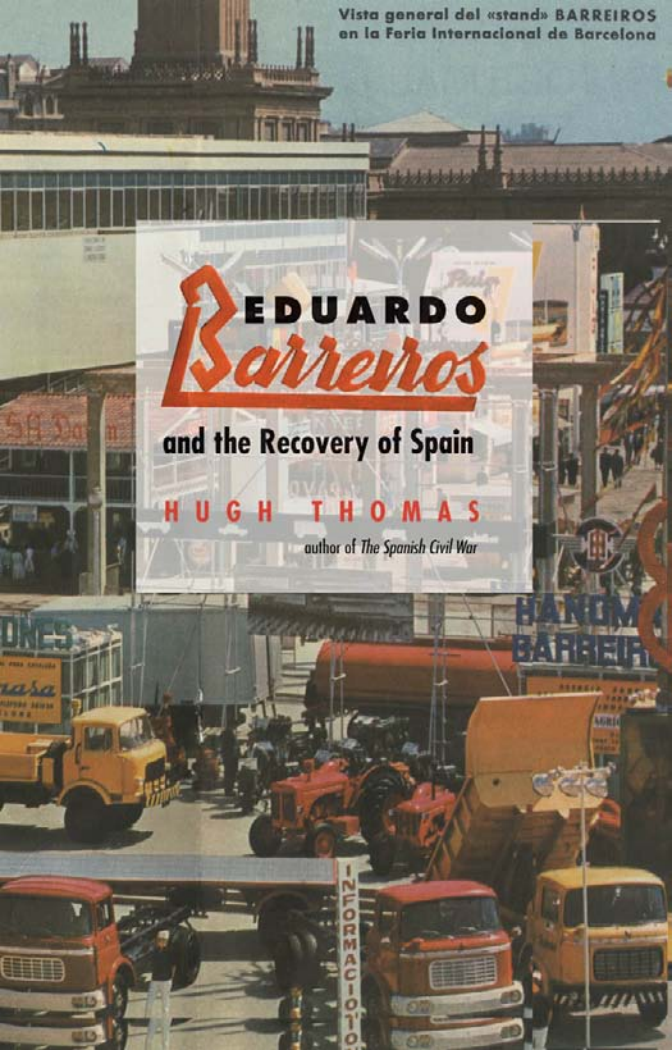

Vista general del «stand» BARREIROS
en la Feria Internacional de Barcelona
EDUARDO
Barreiros
and the Recovery of Spain
HUGH THOMAS
author of *The Spanish Civil War*

Eduardo Barreiros and the Recovery of Spain

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Eduardo Barreiros and the Recovery of Spain

Hugh Thomas

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Prologue

Eduardo Barreiros was a conquistador. He conquered markets, not peoples. These conquests began in his own country, Spain, not in Mexico or in Peru, where men such as Cortés and Pizarro made their names. But Barreiros's triumphs included exports in countries as far removed and as far apart as Egypt and Venezuela, Portugal and Germany.

Barreiros came to maturity in the 1950s when the regime in Franco's Spain was almost as hostile to private enterprise as Communist ministers would have been. Successive Spanish ministers of industry — Suanzes in particular but also Sirvent and the alleged "moderniser" López Bravo — spurned independent entrepreneurs. They were still advocates of national syndicalism, which in practice was a kind of bureaucratic statism.

Grand liberal foreign writers, such as Gerald Brenan, thought that there was something inherent in Spain that would always prevent capitalism from working. Hemingway said much the same. Barreiros, who with his brothers created a large industrial empire from nothing in ten years, proved that these great men were mistaken.

It used to be said by those who admired the German political philosopher Max Weber, or his austere English disciple Tawney, that only Protestant nations could be expected to inspire successful capitalism. That was the theme of Tawney's famous book *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*. The life of Eduardo Barreiros shows that these assumptions were nonsense, even though he had great difficulty in persuading the regime of General Franco of that.

Barreiros was a motor manufacturer and made trucks, tractors, buses, and finally saloon cars. Dull things, you may say, for an imaginative writer to spend his time considering. But motors of different types have been an instrument of progress and of liberty. The truck was called the vehicle of progress by the histo-

rian Raymond Carr. It and the tractor, the bus, and the saloon car helped to liberate Spain and Spaniards.

When I say that Barreiros came from nothing, I mean that. One aim of this book is to explore how it was possible for a poor boy, from the poorest province of a then backward country, who left school when he was twelve years old, to achieve a vast business success in Madrid—to secure an investment of many millions of dollars from Chrysler, no less, of the United States.

The first explanation is that the poor peasants from Galicia, though they might be impoverished smallholders ("minifundistas"), were independent spirits. Unlike farm labourers in other parts of Spain, they had as a rule no masters, even if they were debtors. Many Gallegos, as they are called, would then go to other parts of Spain to work in harvests. Some went to the Americas, especially Cuba and even Florida, as did the family of José Iglesias, author of *The Goodbye Land*, a best-selling travel book of a generation ago. Others, especially in the municipality Nogueira de Ramuín, whence Barreiros came, had been itinerant knife grinders and as such had literally travelled the world.

In Eduardo Barreiros's immediate family, an uncle went to the Canary Islands to run a chain of buses in Las Palmas. Another uncle bought gold in Vigo and a cousin became a jeweller in Corunna. Eduardo's own father went to the Canary Islands to make sieves and, with money that he thereby accumulated, founded a small bus company of three vehicles in Orense on which the young Eduardo worked as a child. Enemies of child labour would denounce the idea, but Barreiros's education was on his father's bus. (In the days of Eduardo Barreiros in Galicia, his city and province were usually referred to by the Castilian form, "Orense," even though the name now is formally "Ourense." I use the old style in this book. Also, in this English edition, I speak of La Coruña [or A Coruña] as Corunna.)

While serving in his late teens as a traditionalist volunteer in the civil war, Eduardo dreamed of founding his own workshop for the repair of motor vehicles. No doubt the civil war taught him much, for he drove trucks under fire with courage and determination. He fulfilled his ambition while employing a mechanic to whom, ironically, he had once been an apprentice. He began to buy and sell secondhand vehicles of all kinds, particularly trucks and buses. He mended roads and extended harbour walls. When working at Castellón de la Plana in the Mediterranean, he realised that a dieselised truck would do the work he had undertaken easier than a train on a fixed rail. He then set himself to give diesel engines to all manner of trucks, particularly German Krupps and Russian ZIL models left over from the civil war. Obtaining a patent for this process,

he and the brothers who worked with him began while still in Galicia to make the money that gave him independence.

The Barreiros brothers then rented a small factory at Villaverde, in the southern outskirts of Madrid, where they continued their dieselisations to good effect. They began to make motors too and embarked on other projects, though they were constantly thwarted in their ambitions by the ministry of industry from whom at that time, in the so-called nationalist syndicalist fascist state, manufacturers had to obtain licences for all innovations.

Barreiros's workshop became the basis for a plant making motors that in a short time became one of the biggest in the central region of Spain. Labour was easy to obtain, for the countryside of Spain was beginning to empty and the sons of agriculturalists welcomed the opportunity for employment in cities. Madrid, seat of a centralising government, was a target for these new labourers.

The success of Barreiros in business derived from the fact that he was a gifted mechanic who was the master of every side of his business. He also took a personal interest in the lives of his workers, whom he paid much better than his rivals did. He would walk many miles a week in his plant. Even when he had several thousand working for him, he knew the names of almost everyone. He had great energy, an infectious vitality, and a capacity for getting the best out of all who worked with him. This kind of association is now laughed at as suggesting "paternalism." It worked well in Spain of that day.

Barreiros was loved by his workers. He arranged for three shifts every twenty-four hours and he would often visit the factory at night and give tips to those whom he thought were doing well. He provided medical support, schools, and housing for those who worked with him and their families. The factory might seem, because of its provision of mechanical courses to those who could benefit, and from its attention to the latest technical novelties, a "university of labour," as one of his collaborators put it. But the social structure at Villaverde constituted a private welfare state.

Barreiros is interesting primarily, therefore, because of his remarkable industrial triumphs in most unpromising circumstances.

The later life of Barreiros had its frustrations as well as its triumphs. The regime of Franco was always difficult to deal with. As in all dictatorships, much depended on obtaining the smiles of the right minister or the well-placed bureaucrat. Barreiros, like all those who tried to manufacture at that time, realised this early and sought to influence the regime in his favour by cultivating the minor luminaries at Franco's court, some of whom he invited to join his board. He went shooting with Franco himself. But the help that he received from these ac-

tions was modest. Even until the end of the 1960s, the regime held aloof from him in all important matters, even if socially the minister of industry might dine with him and take part in one of Eduardo's carefully arranged partridge shoots. Actually, the provision of tractors, trucks, and buses, as well as in the end private motor cars, did much to help to create a middle class in Spain whose strength was one of the reasons for the collapse of Francoism and the success of the transition to democracy in the country after the death of the dictator.

Another frustration for Barreiros was the decline of his relation with the Chrysler corporation after 1963. After his success with other vehicles, Barreiros naturally wanted to make the saloon cars for which he knew there was a market in a Spain that was beginning to catch up with its European neighbours. But the Spanish banks under the influence of the regime were uninterested in helping Barreiros. His only sure source of support was the Banco de Vizcaya, which had helped him greatly in his earlier stages but thought that a market in private cars was a step too far. Barreiros tried to collaborate with Rootes and Lyons of England, but those manufacturers were in decay. He had already promising associations in Germany and France. But the finance that he needed could be found only in the United States. Hence, after unsuccessful approaches to Ford and General Motors, Barreiros made a deal with Chrysler, which in 1963 bought 40 percent of his company. That industrial giant had already begun for the first time to invest in Europe, buying a controlling interest in SIMCA in France at much the same time as their investment in Barreiros.

The study of Barreiros's relations with Chrysler is extraordinarily interesting since, from the beginning, the surprisingly hidebound Chrysler executives sought to impose their own rigid methods on the informal, often confused, but usually immensely imaginative structure in Barreiros's company in which the Barreiros family had all the power. But Chrysler was itself going through a counterrevolution at that time in which accountants were playing a bigger part than designers and adventurers. The factory management became a struggle between two cultures: a *kulturkampf*, I have dared to call it.

Things went from bad to worse when the jewel of Chrysler's own company, the Dodge Dart, failed to sell in Spain. SIMCA also began to be produced by Barreiros and sold better, but its relative success was inadequate to save Barreiros from a cash crisis. As a result, he was obliged to sell a majority holding in his own company to Chrysler, and he and his brothers soon abandoned the factory and the company that he had founded and for a long time made so astoundingly successful.

The rest of Barreiros's life was something of a disappointment to him, though it lacks nothing in drama. He founded a model farm in the Don Quixote coun-

try, which for a time constituted the largest cattle farm in Europe. Once again, Eduardo used the latest techniques and the laboratory was an astonishing innovation for Castile. He also had many investments, some of which went wrong and led him to a suspension of payments in 1980.

Finally, he was asked to found a motor industry in Castro's Cuba. The Cuban regime offered him the chance to begin anew with engines, and he seized the opportunity. A capitalist in the land of comrades, Barreiros assisted in the revival of a tolerance of a version of capitalism in that country as he had done earlier in Spain. History may judge, as Castro might have said himself as a young man, that Barreiros's techniques and philosophy helped to begin a process of change away from Marxism. One of the Cuban managers of a mixed state and private business proudly told me that he looked upon himself as "a Barreiros product." Barreiros's letter to Castro printed here as an appendix is the kind of message that should be sent to the manager of every hard-line controlled economy.

There have been few biographies of entrepreneurs in Spain. I think it is true of studies of the nineteenth-century Cuban millionaires Manzanedo and Zulueta. But the majestic books in the United States about Morgan and Frick, or the racier ones about Hearst, do not have their Hispanic equivalents. Indeed, until recently, there have been few biographies. The reason for the neglect of the personal element in history surprises Anglo-Saxons. It is the consequence of supposing that ideas, not men, determine history. Where Spanish historians have been tempted to study individual lives, they have, too, preferred to study the lives of statesmen, generals, and churchmen. Even in that sphere, it is only the most recent generation of historians (Luis Suárez Fernández, Manuel Fernández Álvarez, Alfonso Bullón, Javier Tusell) who have made really distinguished contributions. Even now the great lives of men such as Picasso, García Lorca, and Olivares are the works of English or Irish writers—so in some ways this book is an innovation.

The Eduardo Barreiros Foundation has given me every facility to use their well-organised archives. Mariluz Barreiros, its president, afforded me much help. She and her relations were a great source of information for me.

I also consulted the archives of the Banco de Vizcaya in Bilbao, the bufete Antonio Garrigues and the bufete Pablo Chillón in Madrid. I also read the papers of the British embassy in Madrid in the 1940s and 1950s, and here I thank Dr. Jill Edwards, now professor of the University of Cairo, for her work with me in this matter many years ago. The reports of Bernard Malley of the embassy in those years were a great help to me as they were, as I know, to his ambassadors. Dr. José Luis García Ruiz assisted me by showing me papers that he had selected from the papers of Franco's sometime minister for industry Juan Antonio Suanzes.

I have been fortunate to be able to consult many who worked with, or in some cases merely knew, Eduardo Barreiros at one stage or another of his life. These have included: Rafael Abella, Miguel Aldecoa, Valero Alises, the late José Luis Álvarez-Sala, José Antolín, Juan Miguel Antoñanzas, Juan de Ávalos, Aida Barreiros, Graciliano Barreiros, Valeriano Barreiros Cotoner, Paul Berliet (France), Claudio Boada, Rafael Cabello de Alba, Rosarito Calderero, José Antonio Carranza, José María Castaño Pillet, José del Castaño, the late Íñigo Cavero, Juan Luis Cebrián, José Luis Cela Trulock, José María Alonso Collar, Alberto Comenge, Marta Cotoner Condesa de Coruña, Bernardo Cremades, Francisco Chaves, Pablo Chillón, Alicia Díaz, Estela Domínguez (Cuba), Sir Diarmuid Downs (England), Vicente Eulate, José Fariña, Enrique Feijóo, Domingo Fernández, Enrique Fernández, the late Santiago Fernández Baquero, José Fernández Quintas, Fernando Fernández Tapia, John Fitzpatrick (the United States), Manuel Fraga Iribarne, Carmen Franco Duquesa de Franco, Licinio de la Fuente, María Pilar Fusi, José Luis Galán Megía, Mario Gamarra, Francisco García Navazo, José Luis García Ruiz, Antonio Garrigues, Juan Gayá, Margarita Gila, Manuel ("Manolo") Gómez, José Manuel Góngora, Mariano Góngora, Javier González Gurriarán, Carlos Falcó Marqués de Griñón, Juan Guerrero Burgos, Antonio Iglesias, Ángel Jiménez, Gonzalo Lacalle, Tomás de Lafuente, Juan Lara Alhambra, Lucio Mariscal, Julián Merino, Irving Minett (the United States), Víctor Mora, Luis Morente, Joaquín Nebreda, Alicia & Ceferino Núñez, María Luz Núñez, Marcelino Oreja, Maribel Outeriño, Arturo Pérez Rodríguez, Horacio Pérez Vázquez, Blas Piñar-Piñeiro, Carlos Rein, José Ripollés, Annabelle Rodríguez, María Luz Ruzo Rodríguez, Rogelio Ruzo Rodríguez, Manuel Rubio, Cesáreo Sánchez Alonso, Manuel Santos Redondo, Cosme and Rosario Scrimieri, Pedro Seco, Mayte Spinola de Barreiros, José Manuel and "Pitita" Stilianopoulos, José Utrera Molina, Julio Vidal, and Cliff Walder (England). In the notes, my discussions with these people are referred to as "testimonies," and all testimonies were made between January 1, 2002, and December 31, 2005.

I was also able to talk with the association of the survivors of Eduardo Barreiros's time at the factory in Villaverde (referred to as "entrevista" in the notes).

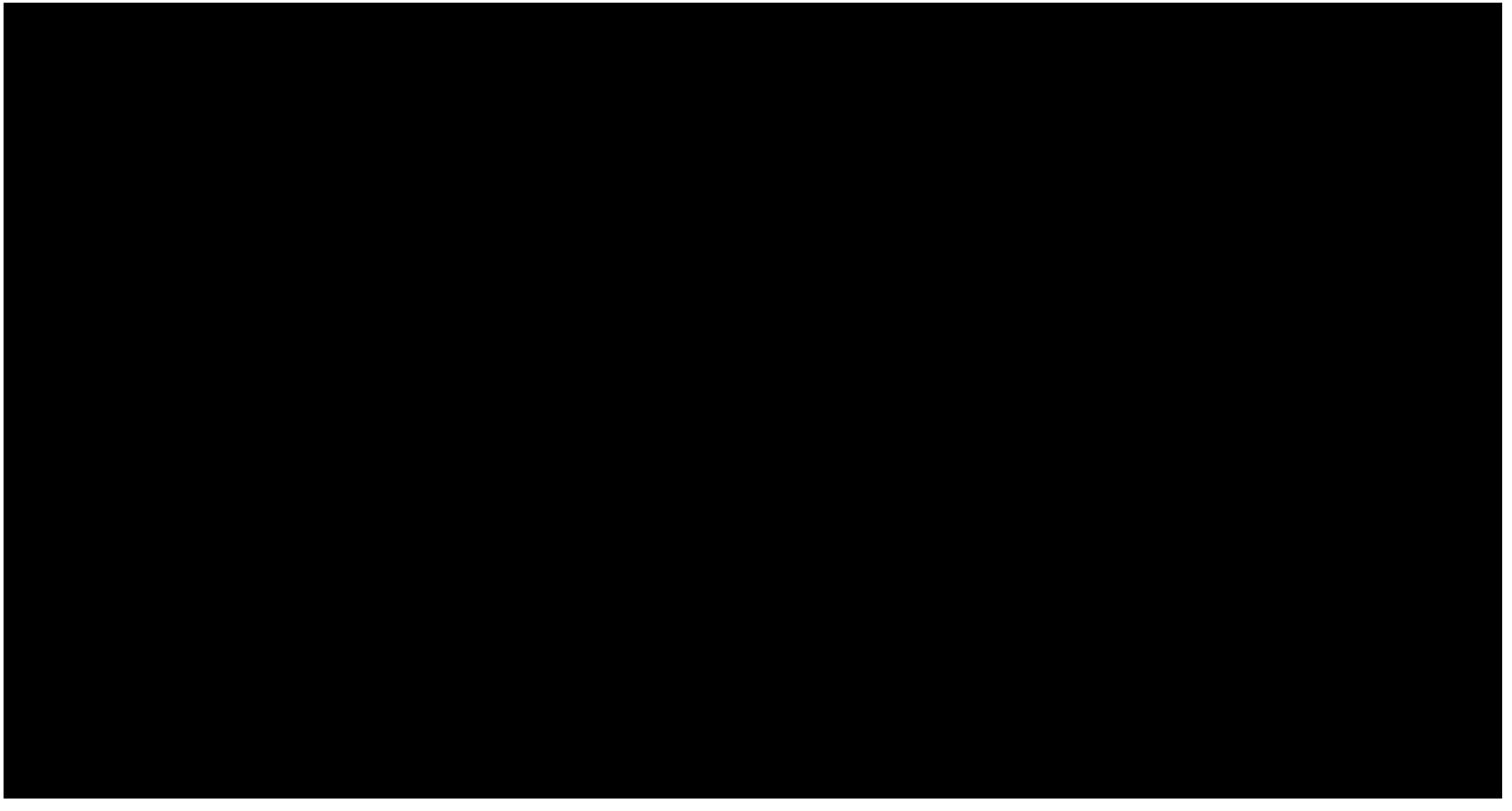
Juan Gayá and María Pilar Fusi read the entire book twice and corrected many potential mistakes, especially in relation to engineering. The latter worked on the English proofs as well as the Spanish. Manuel Fraga Iribarne and Juan Pablo Fusi also read the book in manuscript and made valuable suggestions. Mario Gamarra, José Fernández Quintas, and Javier González Gurriarán read parts of the book and also made useful suggestions.

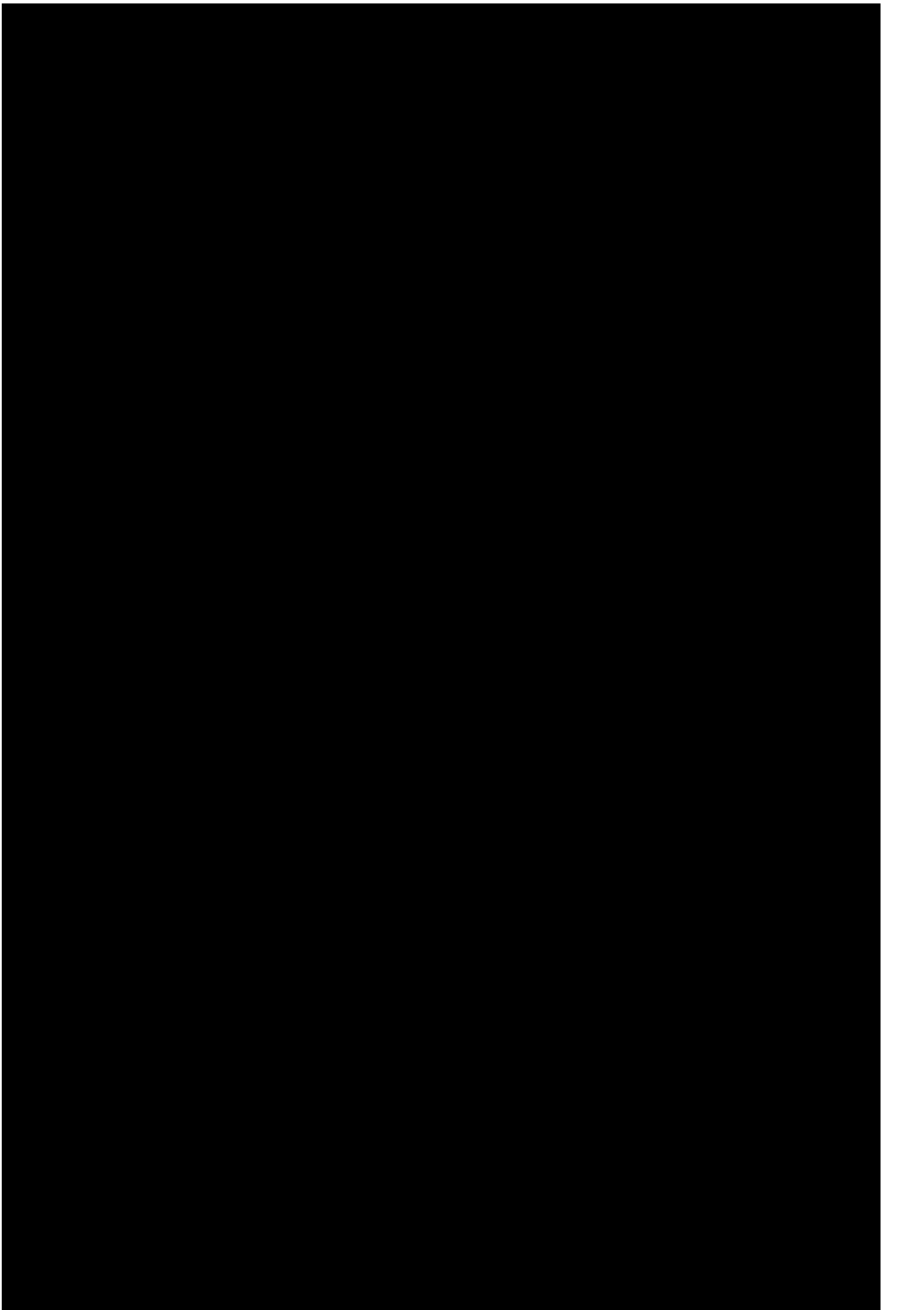
I want to thank Ana Ramos and Cayetana Mora of the Fundación Eduardo

Barreiros for their kindness and efficiency. I worked very happily in the beautiful Salón de Lectores in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, in the Hemeroteca Municipal of Madrid, in the old cuartel del Conde-Duque in Madrid, and in the London Library, the Institute for Historical Research, the British Library, and the Cambridge University library. I am most grateful to the directors of all these great institutions. I wish also to thank the late librarian of the House of Lords David Jones and his patient staff who found all sorts of books for me.

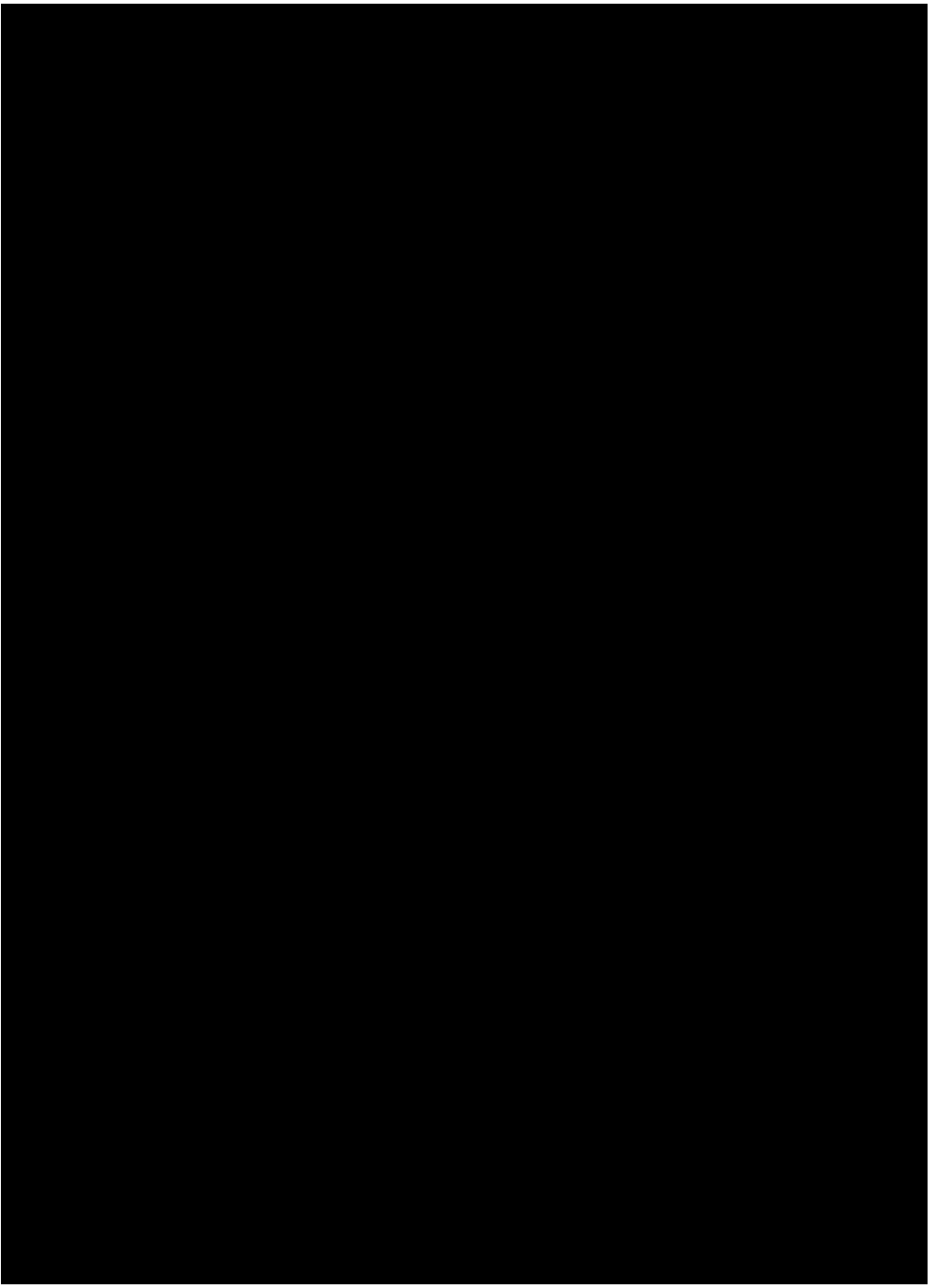
Finally, I thank Mariluz Barreiros warmly for suggesting to me a study from which I have myself learned so much.

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Book I

Old Galicia

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1

The Peasants Do the Real Work

> The peasants were the only people in our country to do any real work.
> [Soia e verdadeira xente do traballo no noso país.]
>
> —*Rosalía de Castro, prologue to* Follas Novas

Eduardo Barreiros, prince of industrial innovation in Spain in the 1950s and 1960s, imaginative entrepreneur in Cuba in the 1980s, was born on October 24, 1919, in Gundiás, a hamlet in Galicia.[1] With about ten houses, it was so small a place that it could be found only on large-scale maps.

Gundiás, a word whose origin is difficult to determine, is less than ten miles from the provincial capital of Orense. It lies in beautiful hills to the northeast of that city, and from the ruins of a mediaeval castle known as "La Torre," a hundred yards west of the village, there is a fine view of the majestic river Miño, which flows in its gorge on through Orense and then, past famous vineyards, a hundred miles west to the Atlantic.[2] On the high ground near Gundiás, the soil is fertile and for generations the farmers had been growing chestnut, walnut, and apple trees, as well as rye for bread and grapes for wine. A few farmers also grew flax for linen and hemp for rope.

Gundiás was part of the parish of San Miguel do Campo, which with its seven dependent places, or "lugares," boasted perhaps one hundred houses altogether.

In the church in San Miguel, rebuilt in neoclassical style in the nineteenth century, Eduardo Barreiros was christened by the priest Don José Benito Feijóo, whose local Orensano surname reminds us that just down the hill from Gundiás, not far from the river Miño, there was the village of Casdemiro, famous since the eighteenth century as the birthplace of the philosopher Fray Benito Feijóo.

How appropriate that it should have been such a short distance from Eduardo Barreiros's birthplace that Feijóo should have made this telling experiment![3]

An old guide to Father Feijóo's birthplace sums up the charm of that stretch of the valley of the Miño into which Gundiás gazes down: it describes how on summer evenings the clouds seem silver against a deep blue sky, whose border is gilded by the rays of the dying sun; how distant mountains seem to merge with those same clouds; how oak and pine forests cover the gorges, accompanied by cypress trees and myrtle bushes, orange and lemon groves: "a countryside truly blessed by nature."[4]

The meticulous nineteenth-century geographer Pascual Madoz said of San Miguel do Campo that it was a place where "all the winds fought."[5] Of this part of Galicia in the nineteenth century, that region's greatest poet, the immortal Rosalía de Castro, "a poetess of spontaneous felicity" in the words of the English critic Gerald Brenan, wrote that Galicia was "always a garden where one can smell pure scents, freshness and poetry."[6]

At the time of the christening of Eduardo Barreiros, there were also still to be heard many attractive, now forgotten sounds: "The creaking [*chirrido*] of narrow boat-shaped oxcarts, a sound as lazily pleasing as that of a bee, evocative of summer, of trellises and vines, of the distant murmur of *gaitas* [bagpipes] at fiestas." The oxen themselves are said to have liked the noise since it calmed them; and it also told others on the roads—often not then paved—that they were coming.[7] "Willingly," an English traveller wrote, about the time of the birth of Eduardo, "would one live forever on this mountainside."[8]

Several things, however, should be said about this apparently idyllic landscape. First, the rain: the novelist Camilo José Cela, a Gallego from near Santiago de Compostela, in the first paragraph of his complicated novel about the civil war, *Mazurca para dos muertos,* wrote: "It is raining lightly but without ever ceasing, it rains here without seeming really to want to [*sin ganas*] but with infinite patience."[9]

María Casares, a great actress in Paris yet a daughter of Galicia (her father was a liberal prime minister of Spain during the terrible time at the end of the second republic in the 1930s), wrote nostalgically (with "*morriña,*" the Gallegos themselves would say), from her exile, "of that widow, Galicia . . . the damp green and sombre bitter-sweet lands . . . whose skies are always in movement."[10]

Another matter that affected the landscape and life in Orense (as other parts in Galicia) was the type of lease enjoyed by the majority of farmers. For this was the characteristic land of "*minifundia*": tiny plots of land that were divided and subdivided into fields often bordered by walls of granite and inherited by brothers or

cousins whose ancestors probably once held the lands concerned as tenants of a bishop, a monastery, or a nobleman. These parcels might be as small as an acre in size. Indeed, a farmer's holding might total as much as that only by adding up several tiny separate plots that might grow a diversity of products. Access to them could be physically complicated.

In the remote past, most of the cultivable land in Galicia belonged to the Church. In 1800, the institution also owned over half the towns. That meant, in the province of Orense, that the bishop or the Cistercian or Benedictine monks were the biggest landowners. These would let land to tenants who would pay 2 percent of the value of the harvested crop as a rent—a *foro*, as the word was. That was usually a contract covering three generations (*tres voces*) plus twenty-nine years; say, about a hundred years in all.

These arrangements decayed in the eighteenth century because the fixed rents had come to seem small in days of inflation. The position was rendered more difficult still because many tenants (*foreros*) sublet land for ten or twenty times what they themselves paid. Unable to do much about that, the real landlords, the Church or the noblemen, tried to insist at least on the termination of leases when the original contract was due to come to an end. But the *foreros* resisted that, embarking on litigation that might last for generations. Eventually, in 1763 an enlightened monarchy, served by liberal ministers who believed in a free market in land and who were nothing if not anticlerical, gave victory by a decree to the tenants, though that triumph was qualified by the retention of all jurisdiction, both criminal and civil, in the hands of the old landlords. The subtenants were soon also insisting on the freezing of their rents. So there were ample possibilities for many further years of litigation.

In the province of Orense, the most important landlords had been the monastic orders, especially the Cistercians at their magnificent edifice of Oseira near the city of Orense; while the nearest *convento* to the birthplace of Eduardo Barreiros had been the large Benedictine establishment of San Esteban (de Ribas de Sil) ten miles northeast of Gundiás, a foundation that had owned nearly all the nearby land until the dissolution (*desamortización*) of 1836. Thus Eduardo Barreiros's ancestors would have been subtenants (*foristas*) of the foreros of San Esteban on whom they would depend for nearly everything, justice included.

San Esteban is even today a wonderful building, hung like a hornet's nest on the crags overlooking the gorge of the river Sil, a few miles before it joins the Miño at Los Peares. No other convento in Galicia can compete with its solitary grandeur, overlooking a deep gorge. It is, as is so much in Spain, principally an achievement of the eighteenth century, but there is a splendid Gothic cloister,

allegedly built by "the nine hermit bishops" in the thirteenth century, as well as much Renaissance work of the sixteenth. The monastery was, however, founded in the ninth century.

In the years before dissolution in 1836, San Esteban had managed a vast territory, including much to the south as far as the pueblo of Sabadelle; everything to the east as far as the remote town of Parada del Sil; much land between gorse and heather with chestnut woods of great riches; while in the north, San Esteban's property spilled over the river Sil to include several villages in the next-door province of Lugo. In the west, the border of the monastery's lands was the river Miño. In the last years of monastic control, rye and vines had been the most important crops there, the vineyards stretching down on terraces to the Sil.

In 1836, the property of San Esteban, like other Spanish monasteries, became by the law of dissolution an object of "national wealth" (the dissolved monasteries became "*bienes nacionales*"). The following year the government also began to sell the lands of the secular church and the bishops. Perhaps 80 percent of Galicia was the subject of these changes.[11]

The time-honoured leases were bought mostly by the old foreros. They, often living in towns, and sometimes themselves lawyers, continued their lawsuits with their own old subtenants, the foristas, who worked land that they had come to assume that they owned. After all, they could plant what they liked and on their deaths divide the territory as they liked. They thought of their rent as just one more tax, to be paid in cash to their landlords' agents once a year and, sometimes, if they held land in several places, to several such agents.

Subdivisions seemed more and more necessary in the nineteenth century because of the increase in population, itself partly inspired by the cult of the enriching potato, whose popularity had none of the disastrous consequences encountered in the British Galicia, Ireland. When Eduardo Barreiros was born, 80 percent of the agricultural land in Galicia could probably have been classified as *minifundios.*[12] Wooden or stone markers would indicate the boundaries between properties. But these were difficult to maintain. Four or five cows on a small farm could easily stray over to neighbours' holdings where potatoes might be planted. The consequent arguments can be imagined. Sometimes the markers might be secretly moved, and it was said that ghosts came to avenge those who suffered such outrages (Galicia, once the land of Suevi, was full of ghosts, whereas Castile, land of Goths, was not).

At the end of the nineteenth century, when the grandfathers of Eduardo Barreiros, Valeriano Barreiros in Sabadelle, and Francisco Rodríguez in Gundiás, must have been in their prime, the chief goal of a farmer would be to have land enough, even if separated, to support his family. The farmer would also probably

have a cow, probably one of those *vacas rubias* that are still a typical sight in this countryside. That animal would provide milk and cheese and do whatever ploughing was necessary. It was sometimes said that while the typical peasant lived from his cow, he also lived *for* his cow ("el paisano vive de la vaca, y vive para la vaca").[13] The farmer in Orense might expect, too, to plant rye from which his wife would make the excellent bread for which Galicia was renowned. He would also make wine. Essentially he would live on what he produced, even if he might take chestnuts to be sold in Orense to be made into the delicious *marrons glacés* that since 1909 the city had made. Sometimes, too, a calf or two might be sold.

Further income could be achieved only by emigration or partial emigration. For example, younger members of a family might go to work in Castile or even Andalusia during harvest time. Throughout the early twentieth century, workers from Galicia with their sickles might be seen in railway stations, beneath the well-loved French clocks, waiting for trains to the south.

Castilians often had a condescending attitude to these Gallego immigrants on whom they nevertheless often relied: for example, in the novel *El Buscón*, by Quevedo, a Gallego maid is made to seem silly when she shrieks with terror when her master, an actor, pretends to be eaten by a bear. A Gallego was caused to seem an unintelligent boor in many Castilian plays. Galicia? A region where women worked as farm labourers, porters, and even road menders.

Other Gallegos still might travel in the rest of Spain as itinerant knife grinders, *afiladores*.[14] The heart of that ancient profession was Noguiera de Ramuín, where there now stands a statue to that characteristic Gallego of the old days. These dedicated professionals developed their own language, Barallete, which has in it a few words of Gypsy, Basque, and even of English ("dog" in Barallete is *doco*, "fish" *fixo*, and "hot" *hote*).[15]

Still more ambitious young men might emigrate to the Canary Islands, to Cuba, Argentina, or even North America. This recourse was less frequent in Orense than in the maritime provinces of Galicia but it certainly happened. Remittances sent home would thereafter play a part in farmers' budgets. Sometimes a successful emigrant, an "Indiano," would return home and, as in Asturias, build a pretty house with a palm tree placed near it to indicate the history of the person concerned.

2

The Rodríguezes of Gundiás

That ceaseless laughter,
Those light-hearted leaps,
That mad gaiety:
Why did it end

—Rosalía de Castro, tr. Gerald Brenan

Eduardo Barreiros was born in the autumn of 1919 in the house of his maternal grandfather, Francisco Rodríguez, "*el abuelo* Francisco." Eduardo's mother, *el abuelo*'s daughter, was then living with her father since her husband, young Eduardo Barreiros Nespereira, had gone some months before to Las Palmas in the Canary Islands to seek new opportunities. If his work went well, he would take his wife and new baby there too.

El abuelo Francisco's dwelling is still standing, though it has been modernised; and for reasons other than architectural, it is hard to imagine what it would have been like in 1919 because both the building and its surroundings have changed utterly. For there was then no paved road in Gundiás, no electricity, and no running water—even if in front of the *abuelo*'s house there was a well.

The *abuelo* was a typical minifundista, for he had several small holdings of about 100 to 200 square metres each in size.[1] On these, like most of his neighbours, he cultivated vines that produced wine for use at home as well as fruit. He also had a few cows to provide milk, some of which, Eduardo would recall, he gave away to the poorer people of the village. He is said to have at one time carried dynamite to Asturias, presumably for use in the coal mines there.[2]

Eduardo recalled his grandfather with affection. But he knew him only when he was old, or when he appeared so. His grandfather's second wife, Loreto Ánsia,

had died before 1919, but *el abuelo* still seemed to Eduardo "hardworking and energetic" as well as "generous, tall and thin, of a strong character, of large build, without being in any way fat."[3] When Eduardo was three or four years old, *el abuelo*'s chief desire was to have his grandson sleep in his bed to keep him warm, for which service he would pay the handsome sum of ten céntimos.

The language spoken in the house was Gallego, which is close to mediaeval Portuguese but which has received many Castilian "intrusions."[4] Gallego had been used in official documents in the region in the late middle ages, and at that time it had been the vehicle of courtly poetry even in Castile. It declined afterward, becoming about 1800 the speech of the mostly illiterate peasantry and fishermen. But in the late nineteenth century it saw a literary revival, especially in poetry, influenced decisively by the magical poet Rosalía de Castro.

By 1920, *el abuelo* Francisco had left the management of his property to his daughter Luzdivina. She accomplished this task in the absence of her husband with the help of two day labourers. Their work included ploughing the *abuelo*'s land with a wooden plough since a steel one was only rarely seen in rural Orense. Luzdivina cooked, and we imagine *cachelos*—potatoes cooked in an original way—and circular doughnuts often being eaten as well as the exquisite cheeses shaped like women's breasts. "In Galicia," the English traveller Lady Holland wrote in her diary in 1808, which in the province was still really only the day before yesterday, "one may always find milk, eggs and potatoes. . . . On the roadside," she went on, "the countrywomen bring them ready boiled to sell."[5]

Luzdivina Rodríguez, mother of Eduardo, was a strong, good-looking woman who in 1919 was just over twenty, having been born in 1898. All who remember her think of her as very religious. A niece by marriage, Aida Penedo de Barreiros, thought of her as a saint; her daughter María Luz recalled that she went to mass every day. One of Luzdivina's sons, Graciliano, considered her "the motor" of her family, being intelligent and cultivated, having been to the village school. She was a strong character and a lover of discipline and rather dominating, one of her grandsons remembers.[6]

Luzdivina had spent her childhood in Gundiás, much of it in a house next to where she was living with her father in 1919. She, her brother Manuel, and her sister Celsa had been "almost like twins," a granddaughter of Manuel remembered.[7] All the same, Manuel had long before 1919 left Gundiás for Tuy and its neighbourhood, for he found Orensano life too small for his ambitions. Eventually, he would amass a small fortune and live on a property that he bought in the calm valley of Tebra near Tuy.[8]

The third member of the trio of the little Rodríguezes was Celsa, who was "small, affable and happy" and would become a nun.

El abuelo Francisco had had another small family of two children, Antonio and Josefa, by his first wife. In 1919, they were both already married: Antonio was living in Vigo, while Josefa had married a Barreiros of San Miguel, apparently not related, or at least not closely related, to the father of young Eduardo. The latter couple had already had a son, Celso, who, like his uncle Manolo, would soon break away from the rural life to seek a fortune, in his case as a jeweller in Corunna.

Unlike the richer but landless labourers of Andalusia or the tenant farmers of Castile, the minifundistas had no masters. Their motto could be that of all honourable men: "No superior."[9] That background was perhaps one reason for the success of entrepreneurs from Galicia in the twentieth century.

3

The Barreiroses of Sabadelle

Chestnuts are chestnuts
Their shells are their shells
But the eyes in thy face
Bind me fast by their spells.
—*Old song*

Luzdivina met her husband, Eduardo Barreiros Nespereira, at a fair, probably sometime in 1918. Perhaps it was the fair of Magostos, celebrated on November 11, the day of Saint Martin, a rural fiesta celebrated in the hills near Orense at which boys would roast the chestnuts that they would eat accompanied by wine brought by girls. (*Magostar* in the Orensano version of Gallego means to roast chestnuts.) Perhaps there was *resolio*, a sweet-tasting *aguardiente* liqueur to which *anís* and sugar are added. Perhaps, too, there were the blind men with violins who were so frequent at these fiestas, gypsies predicting fortunes, and the showing of cows with seven feet. November 11, 1918, would in most other European countries have seemed a day of divine release from war, but the armistice may have passed unnoticed in Gundiás. Whatever tragedies lay in store for Spain, world war would not be one of them.[1]

A song of the local poet Joan Zorro translated at that time reflects the character of that kind of fiesta:

Come dance with me now, my sister fair
Beneath the flowered hazel [*avellano*] there,
And she who is fair as we are fair,
if in love she be,
there
beneath the hazel bloom [*flor del avellano*] she
will dance with me.[2]

Emilia Pardo Bazán, the greatest of Gallego novelists, wrote a charming pen picture of this kind of fiesta: "Then the young men and women took turns to dance to their heart's content and make up for the sobriety which they had shown in church during a whole hour. The dance in the sunlit porch; the church floor covered with fennel and bullrush, bruised by the trampling feet; the church lit up not so much by the candles as by the light which flooded in through door and windows; the priests out of breath but happy and talkative; the saint looking so smart, so trim and cheerful on his stand, with one leg slightly raised as if to start a minuet; and the innocent dove ready to spread his wings; all contributed to make up a picture of bucolic gaiety."[3]

Eduardo Barreiros Nespereira was in 1918 twenty-six years old, being the youngest son of another minifundista, no doubt a forista, Valeriano Barreiros Ánsia, who lived in San Benito da Veiga, the nearest village to Gundiás to the south, on the way to the more substantial pueblo of Sabadelle and to Orense. A future sister-in-law of Eduardo remembered it as being like a Christmas crèche (*belén*).[4]

Now within the municipality of Pereiro de Aguiar, Sabadelle was scarcely seven miles from Orense. It had, however, like Gundiás and San Miguel, been before 1834 a dependency of the monastery of San Esteban.[5]

At San Benito, *el abuelo* Valeriano had grown chestnuts and vines, and he also apparently had some mills for grinding flour.[6] He died before 1919 but Eduardo remembered his wife, his own paternal grandmother, Avelina Nespereira, as having been affectionate with him, a woman "of small stature but great agility, both dynamic and tender-hearted."[7]

The family of Valeriano and Avelina was dispersed by the time of Eduardo's birth. All of them seem to have looked on village life as too restrictive. An elder brother had died in Cuba in 1898, though of a disease, not in the war of that date. Another son, Manuel, had gone to Las Palmas in the Canary Islands and founded a business for making knives. Manuel's three sisters, Bernardina, Concepción, and Dorinda, also lived in Las Palmas—the last name a typical one in the country near Orense despite its association for many with the English restoration of the 1660s.[8] Eduardo Barreiros Nespereira, the youngest son of Valeriano and Avelina, spent a time on the land with his father and then, after his marriage to Luzdivina Rodríguez, himself set off for the Canaries, planning to work with his brother Manuel.

The Barreiros family have many graves in the cemetery next to the large church of San Martín in Sabadelle, and so it would be reasonable to suppose that that town was the Barreiroses' original home. The word *barreiros* signifies "barriers" (*barreras*) in Gallego, but it can mean someone who works with clay

(*barro*). "Barreiros" is also a place name. There is one so called, a small collection of four houses, thus even smaller than Gundiás, on the hillside below Sabadelle, on the way to the Miño.[9]

Sabadelle is a large, pretty pueblo that boasts a good *pazo* in which a *cacique* lived, and several substantial houses, as well as the fine church. In the nineteenth century, the place had a hundred houses and a population of five hundred.

Eduardo Barreiros Nespereira, the father of our Eduardo, was remembered as a "*santo*" by a family friend, José Fernández Quintas, who also thought him "a magnificent person dedicated entirely to his work."[10] His grandson Eduardo Javier remembered him as "very good" and "very religious but, though good at small-scale business affairs, he was not so much at home in big undertakings."[11]

When young, Eduardo Barreiros senior was, like his brothers, determined to make a way for himself outside the world of the village in which his forbears had lived. Hence his decision to follow Manuel to the Canary Islands despite the sadness which that must have caused to himself and to his already pregnant wife. In those "fortunate Islands," as the Canaries had been known in antiquity, he planned not only to make enough money eventually to bring Luzdivina and the young Eduardo to join him but to found there a business that would enable him to return rich to Galicia. Evidently he had something of the entrepreneurial spirit that characterised his sons. In one of his stories Alfonso Castelao, an admirable writer from the seaside village of Rianxo in Pontevedra writes of a boy who "like all the young men in the village, felt the urge to emigrate."[12]

Eduardo Barreiros senior was able to carry out the first part of this scheme in late 1923, coming home with 5,000 pesetas that he had saved (about $550). He planned to set up a small workshop in Tamaraceite, a village just outside Las Palmas, to make sieves. Its population in 1930 would have been about 1,500.[13] It seemed a humble enough beginning, but the Barreiros family had no false pride.

A few weeks before Eduardo senior arrived home in Gundiás his son Eduardo had a disturbing experience. Aged just four, he had been left alone with *el abuelo* Francisco—Luzdivina was at mass in San Miguel. Such an absence must have occurred often enough. But on this occasion, *el abuelo* went to sleep in front of his large wood fire, or *lareira*, and one of his wooden clogs (*zuecos*) caught fire.[14] Eduardo drew his grandfather forcibly out of danger and then gave the alarm to his neighbours, asking them to come and help.

A few days later, Eduardo *padre* returned to Orense. Luzdivina met him there and returned with him to Gundiás to tell her son, "Eduardito, here is your father who has come to take us to the Canary Islands!" Eduardo Barreiros Nespereira took his son in his arms and wept.

A few weeks later, the three Barreiroses—Eduardo *padre* and *hijo* and Luzdivina—set off for Las Palmas, travelling first by horse and donkey (which carried several suitcases) to Orense, then by the roundabout train journey to Vigo (one had to travel via Tuy). The line had been open since 1881 and was Orense's link with the world.

Azorín spoke once of these trains in Galicia: "We got onto a large, slow and gloomy train. . . . The coaches were almost empty and, in the solitude, the slowness, the silence we set about reading. . . . The hours pass, always the same, we hear the clo-clo of some clogs [*zuecos*] on the stone of the platform. A most moving moment! A vague, muddy light comes in through the little windows. A fine, light rain falls, almost as if it were soil being sieved . . . !"[15]

In Vigo, like thousands of other emigrants to the New World as well as to the Canaries, the Barreiros family caught their boat to Las Palmas. They left *el abuelo* to be looked after by his unmarried daughter, Celsa.

4

"¡Guagua, Guagua!"

¡Guagua, guagua!

—Town crier in Las Palmas announcing the coming of a bus

The beautiful archipelago of the Canary Isles needs little introduction. Even in the United States, everyone knows that to go to the Canaries means to enter the world of the elegant date palm, the coffee plant, and the banana, which was for so long the islands' first export.[1] The average temperature is just over seventy degrees Fahrenheit and scarcely varies throughout the year from day to night. The splendid sixteenth-century architecture, especially the magnificently subtropical cathedral in Las Palmas, gives the islands a heart. The population of the archipelago was 360,000 in 1910, of whom 80 percent were probably illiterate.

These geographical observations miss the essential element in the life of the Canaries that anyone who has been to the New World notices immediately. For there is something in the light, the air, and the vegetation, even in the glance of the population, that recalls to us that here we have already said good-bye to old Europe, we are on our way to the Americas. Those whom we meet are Europeans, English as well as Spanish,[2] but daily life suggests that we are with Columbus and all those other sailors who, for so many generations, touched here on their way to the Indies.

The city of Las Palmas, where Manuel Barreiros had established himself before his brother Eduardo joined him, with its 40,000 or so inhabitants, was, like every other city in the world, more concentrated than it is now. Manuel Barreiros's manufactory for knives was in the centre of the place. One who wrote of Eduardo Barreiros *hijo* in the 1960s says that his father took with him equipment as an *afilador*, for use in case all else failed.[3]

But it did not do so. His plan was to make sieves. To do this, he set up a small workshop of about thirty square metres about seven miles outside Las Palmas in Tamaraceite, which name means "Grove of Palms" in Guanche, the Canary language. He also rented a house of two rooms and bought two mules to carry the sieves to market. He and Luzdivina made the sieves and Eduardo *hijo* helped them.

Tamaraceite is now an undistinguished little pueblo with a tiny square in front of a small church. In the 1920s the place was surrounded by a beautiful palm grove.[4] Tamaraceite formed part at that time of the larger municipality of San Lorenzo, which had a church, a fine churchyard, noble ficus trees, as well as a famous fiesta, with fireworks, on September 8, the day of the birth of Our Lady.

The Barreiroses' stay in the Canaries as a family lasted only from the end of 1923 until the same time in 1925. Eduardo seems never to have spoken of the impression that the climate, the sun, and the proximity to the sea made upon him as a child, but the experience of something so different from the hamlet of Gundiás must have given him an intimation of the diversity of the world.

He in fact remembered the Canaries for four reasons. First, he found the work of assisting his father in his manufactures rewarding. Usually Eduardo senior and Luzdivina would spend two days completing their sieves and then, on the third, the former would sally out with his mules selling them at markets or in farms. "Child labour" is now considered with horror by progressive thinkers. It was for millions of children in the past an essential vocational experience.

One day, Eduardo senior took his son with him on his sales journey. He gave him a harmonica to keep him happy during what seemed likely to be a long day. In the afternoon they stopped at a finca where Eduardo *padre* did some business and where Eduardo *hijo* played with the children of the house. They showed him a toy car, which sent him into raptures. Then Eduardo *padre* appeared: "Let's go," he said, "we still have a long way ahead of us." They set off with Eduardo *hijo* constantly looking backwards. After about a hundred yards, one of the children of the house ran up after the retreating Barreiroses and gave him the *cochecito*. The experience made a great impression. Canary Islanders have a reputation for generosity, but this was exceptional.[5]

The second reason why Eduardo remembered the Canaries was more painful. He caught tonsillitis and needed an operation to take out his tonsils and adenoids. It was often then thought that an inflation of those obstructions could threaten breathing. The boy was bound into something like a dentist's chair and his arms and legs tied down while his father held his head. Some kind of gag was put in his mouth. Then the surgeon appeared with large scissors and, with no anaesthesia, cut away at the offending elements. Never, Eduardo said, did he for-

get the terror of this experience.[6] Those of us who live in a later age have some reasons to be thankful.

Then Eduardo also remembered the Canaries since after he and his parents had been there about ten months, his mother in September 1924 gave birth to another baby, who was christened Valeriano, after Eduardo *padre's* father. Thereafter, Eduardo recalled, he had no time to play or even to help to make sieves since, with his mother at work, he had to look after the baby.[7]

Finally, Eduardo remembered these Fortunate Islands since it was there that he learned Spanish and even came to speak it for a time with a Canary Island accent. Previously he would have spoken Gallego, which he continued to use in the family.

Eduardo senior had success in his improbable business. But he had no intention of remaining forever in the islands. He dreamed of emulating his elder brother Manuel, who had founded a line of buses, almost certainly French ones, which plied from one part of Las Palmas to another.[8] Eduardo *padre* thought of doing the same in his native Galicia. He would hear a town crier shouting, "Guagua, guagua," the Canary word for a bus, with fascination.[9]

Then his decision was made for him. Luzdivina received a letter from *el abuelo* Francisco saying that he was ill and that his daughter Celsa had decided that she wanted to become a nun of the order of San Vicente de Paúl. He begged Luzdivina to return with her family. Eduardo senior took that letter as a signal and decided to return as soon as he could to Orense. He sold everything: his workshop, his mules, his tools, and the sieves that he had left. For this he made what was the then not inconsiderable sum of 20,000 pesetas (about $2,500).

A month before their return, Eduardo senior went to a driving school and learned to drive a car: an indication of the future.

5

Give to Him Who Asks

If you can, always give to him who asks.
[Si puedes, dale siempre al que te pida.]

—*Luzdivina Rodríguez de Barreiros*

The Barreiros family returned to Galicia much as they had left it two years before: in a third-class cabin in a lower part of the boat, with a stop at Lisbon and then on to Vigo, where they caught the slow train to take them the hundred miles to Orense.

Orense! The Barreiroses had on their way home a quick vision of urban life, though one with a different pace from that of Las Palmas. Eduardo *padre* hired a horse and cart to carry his family home to Gundiás. They had not only their luggage but a large bunch of green bananas from Las Palmas, which, Eduardo recalled, took some time to ripen.

El abuelo Francisco was overjoyed to see his daughter Luzdivina and her children. He had been haunted by the fear that he might die without seeing them again. All Gundiás came out to greet them. The neighbours complemented Eduardo *hijo* on his new Spanish.

That season would have been a time of chestnuts, one of the great sights of Galicia, especially of Orense, which they would not have seen in Las Palmas. Emilia Pardo Bazán spoke once of "the magnificent chestnuts whose scent embalms the atmosphere of the leafy broom."[1]

Eduardo senior wasted no time after his return from the Canaries. He lived in Gundiás in *el abuelo* Francisco's house with Luzdivina and their two small sons, but he went often to Orense by bus. He noticed that these buses carrying passengers from Orense to Luintra, the capital of the municipality of Nogueira de Ra-

muín, were usually full. He believed that it might be desirable to have a new bus available, if not a new line. So he spent his savings made in the Canaries on a secondhand 1,500-kilogramme Panhard-Levassor chassis from a local businessman, Constantino Suárez, who owned one of the three bus companies of Orense.[2] This chassis cost him 16,000 pesetas. He also bought a wooden bodywork for 3,000 pesetas.[3] It is characteristic that Eduardo *padre* did not even think of buying one of the omnibuses from Hispano-Suiza, an Elizalde, nor one of the Autobuses España that were so successful in Spain in the 1930s. Spain was an important export market for the French motor-car industry in the 1920s. (France had been the largest exporter of motor cars even before 1914.)

Eduardo senior put his bus in order with the help of a mechanic, Manuel "Manolo" Cid, who then worked for the workshop of José Arce next to the railway station in Orense. At that time one did not have to apply for a licence to run a bus. The age of regulation had not yet arrived. Anyone in Spain could send any bus anywhere. There was at that time a spirit of competition on these country lanes between bus companies: for example, passengers were given a free breakfast on the Bobello-Xesteira line. Stables of course still existed — horses were still the usual means of transport — but town halls were beginning to realise how much cleaner the streets would be without horses.

But this first bus of Eduardo *padre* was unsuccessful. The road from Orense to Luintra was full of steep slopes, and the power of the bus was so weak that passengers often had to get out and walk uphill.

All the same, after a few months Eduardo *padre* was taking this bus regularly along his designated route, passing through San Benito, Gundiás, and his own parish of San Miguel do Campo[4] — all pueblos that had been part of his family's way of living for generations.

In 1927 this era of cheerful competition came to an end, for the government in Madrid decided to establish monopolies, and to grant exclusive rights to the company that seemed to offer the best service. The understanding was that that company would carry the post free to the villages. This was a rural reflection of a national decision of June 24, 1927, to establish a monopoly of the refining, distribution, and sale of petrol throughout Spain.[5]

Eduardo Barreiros senior put in a bid for monopoly of the Orense-Luintra line. But since his Panhard was so makeshift, he failed to win the competition. What he did gain was a licence to develop the less advantageous route from Orense to Los Peares, a small town just where the beautiful Rhine-like river Sil, with its deep gorge, joins the Miño. He paid 12,000 pesetas to the civil government in Orense for this permission. People assumed this venture to be foolish since the bus would run alongside the Miño and thus compete along much the

same route with the cheap train from Orense to Monforte, which charged a mere thirty *céntimos* for this journey while Barreiros would charge a peseta. All the same, the concession was, as Eduardo recalled, "*una buena inyección moral*" (a good moral injection/encouragement). His bus would leave Orense at five in the afternoon to reach Los Peares an hour later. Then it would leave Los Peares at eight in the morning and reach Orense at about 10 A.M. It stopped at ten places on the way. Twenty could travel inside and ten outside on top. But it was rarely anything like full, except during fiestas.

After 1945, an English traveller wrote: "Country buses in Galicia look as worn out as the women. They are used and abused until they all become rusty and down at heel. So much heavy luggage is heaped onto the roof that they are rarely able to travel at all rapidly and indeed are obliged to crawl along at the command of a race of drivers who are experts in their painstaking task. Passengers are also allowed to climb themselves onto the roof next to the luggage, and this adds to the general coach-like atmosphere of the journey. But it is hardly a way of travel to be recommended in view of the thick cloud of dust which continually rises from the roads [country roads in Galicia were often at that time not paved]. The roofs of the buses are generally reserved for tough male passengers and for gallant gentlemen who give up their seats inside to anxious ladies who would otherwise be stranded."[6]

From the beginning, Eduardo junior helped his father on this bus journey. Though only about eight years old, he acted as ticket collector, collecting the fares on the outside running board of the vehicle, and clambering up the ladder to the roof to charge those brave enough to travel there. On Sundays he would wash the bus and grease the ladder. The priest of San Miguel, Father Manuel Ramos Ramos, an uncle of the girl whom Eduardo would marry, recalled Eduardo at that time: "The one driving the bus was Eduardito's father. Eduardito himself would act as ticket inspector and, some times, he would even sit at the wheel and, on very special occasions, would drive the bus although he was only a child. He was charming, very polite, very dynamic. If some of us had to travel standing up, uncomfortably, he knew how to convince us about the need for such a sacrifice and we would accept it without complaint."[7]

Eduardo also went to school in San Miguel near the church. "I recall the teacher being a good person," he said later. What he liked best were her explanations of astronomy. It was an interest that remained with him.[8]

The transport arrangements led to a change of home. Eduardo senior and Luzdivina and their three small sons (Graciliano was born at the end of 1926) left Gundiás for Los Peares. Though it is a remote place, it must have seemed a metropolis to the Barreiroses in comparison with Gundiás. It was, after all, close to

the two big electrical plants on the Sil and the Miño, respectively. Then and now Los Peares has much commerce, particularly in wine.

Eduardo senior, now aged about thirty-five, continued his daily journeys to Orense and back, and Eduardo junior, still under ten, made the journey with him on most days. He therefore gave up the school in San Miguel and substituted it for a private school in Orense, kept by Angelita Paradella in the Carretera de Trives, in the centre of the city.[9] Angelita Paradella was an excellent teacher, very popular in the city, and charged her pupils ten pesetas a month. She came from the nearby pueblo of Maceda, twenty-five kilometres to the east. Eduardo later wrote that he always remembered "the great patience with which she treated all her pupils."[10] Back at home, meantime, Luzdivina was busy with her two younger sons, Valeriano and Graciliano, while a new baby girl, Mary, was also born in Los Peares in early 1929.[11]

Eduardo recalled Luzdivina's forceful character vividly at this time: "Mamá was, as all mothers are, very kind, but she also had an extraordinary good character and personality, she was a good Catholic and of great humanity. Many of the things she told me in different moments have remained engraved in my mind: 'Never lie, for it is easier to catch a liar than a cripple.' Or 'if you can, always give to he who asks.' Or 'dignity is the fundamental base of the human being.'"[12]

The difficulty with Eduardo Barreiros senior's bus was that if there was a breakdown, the service had to stop. So Eduardo *padre* looked around for a second vehicle that could be used on those occasions. He did this eventually by buying another French bus, an old Renault, for 4,000 pesetas from the same Constantino Suárez who had sold him the Panhard. He also bought an old bodywork from a scrap merchant. The bus was originally obtained through SEIDA (Sociedad Española de Importación de Automóviles S.A.), founded in San Sebastián to secure imports from the American Chrysler Corporation.

Eduardo Barreiros Nespereira paid for this bus in instalments of 500 pesetas a month. It was a vehicle that looked all right in Orense but it could not go up hills at all if there were passengers aboard. It had to be driven in first gear even when empty.

A third bus, also a Renault, with a "block cut" and "welded cut," soon found its way into the Barreiros stable.

Though all these buses were second- or even third-rate, Eduardo senior developed the habit of having them repaired when necessary in José Arce's workshop. This *taller* was the best in the province. Here Eduardo *hijo*, too, would go whenever he could escape from Angelita and her school.

The fleet of Barreiros buses soon had three people working on them: Eduardo *padre* as driver; Eduardo *hijo*, who acted as inspector and who washed the vehi-

cles when they reached Orense; and finally Arturo, from Los Peares, who as assistant chauffeur and ticket collector earned 100 pesetas a month, as well as his lodging and keep, which he had in the Barreiros household. Eduardo remembers him as a professionally excellent driver but with a bad character and with whom he was always in dispute.

After a year of these arrangements, Eduardo, just twelve, told his father that he did not want to return to school. Instead, he hoped to work full time in Arce's workshop and learn to be a mechanic. Eduardo senior had observed the bright talent of his son and agreed with him that this was the best way of completing his education. The plan was that Eduardo would work as an apprentice to the mechanic Manolo Cid in Arce's taller, being paid two pesetas a day—a sum he gave to Luzdivina. He seems, however, to have spent much of his time repairing his family's buses when necessary (and it was often) under Cid's guidance. Cid seemed to Eduardo to be "a wonderful mechanic": the best that he ever knew.

This change in Eduardo's circumstances was preceded by yet one more change in residence. The Barreiroses now moved into Orense itself. This was in 1929, when Eduardo *hijo* was still only ten years old. The reasons were various. First, Eduardo *padre* and Luzdivina wanted to educate satisfactorily their second and third sons, Valeriano and Graciliano, but there was no good school in Los Peares. Further, Eduardo *hijo* wanted to devote as much time as possible to Arce's workshop. So the family left Los Peares and rented a house in Orense behind the hospital. There María Luz, the second of Eduardo and Luzdivina's daughters, was born.

After a year, the Barreiroses moved again, to a house in the new Calle Cardenal Quevedo (Calle Cardenal Quevedo 5). But they then moved across the street to Cardenal Quevedo 8. It was a substantial house nine metres wide and ten metres in depth. Like No. 5, it too had the benefit of a garage-workshop beneath it.[13] Sister María Luz recalls it as a house of stone; "[It was] very pretty and very comfortable. There was a small garden around it. I was very happy there, we were a very close-knit family."[14]

The new home was also close to what had been till recently the hermitage of San Lázaro and adjacent to the square of that name. Nearby too was the wooden shed of Rogelio Fernández González, an interesting entrepreneur who had founded a metallurgical factory, ROFESA, after the initial letters of his own names. He had spent ten years as a youth in Chicago and would often talk about that city of dreams.[15] His building was on the site of the first factory of the Belgian Manuel Malingre, which firm still existed, constituting the biggest factory in Orense, employing seventy people, though since 1880 it had been established in the suburb of El Couto.

Eduardo was, as we have seen already, precocious. Thus not only was he now working half his day in Arce's workshop but he would also talk to people who were sometimes to be found there. Among them on one occasion was a representative of the United States firm Dodge who was keen to sell the Barreiros company a new chassis. The Dodge representative was active in Orense: he would often advertise Dodge vehicles in the local Catholic paper, *La Región*.[16]

Eduardo told his father that if he accepted this idea, he himself would make the necessary new bodywork. He thought that with this kind of bus, they could offer a good service along their eccentric line and at the same time earn money on Sundays by hiring the vehicle to take football enthusiasts (a new breed of traveller!) the seventy miles or so to Vigo to watch matches there and come home afterwards.

Eduardo senior was sceptical. Surely the Dodge would cost 19,000 pesetas, which on an instalment basis would mean 1,000 pesetas a month. The new bodywork for which Eduardo junior would be responsible would cost 6,000 pesetas at 500 a month. Unfortunately, at that stage there were no Spanish alternatives.

In the end, Eduardo senior agreed to the plan proposed by his son and handed over the second of his two Renault buses to the representative of Dodge, who in exchange paid 1,000 pesetas, a sum that he soon recovered from a scrap merchant.

This arrangement was a success. The Barreiroses now always had available at least one sound bus. More and more passengers were found ready to pay a peseta a journey, and the hirings on Sundays were also a success. From now on, Eduardo senior always listened to his son's recommendations, even though the boy was only twelve years old.

Thus when Eduardo went again to his father to tell him that now Ford's representative in Orense had for sale a three- to four-ton Ford Model A of seventeen horsepower, in which he thought they might place the old wooden Panhard bodywork effectively, Eduardo senior listened and agreed with the proposal to buy it, even though the innovation would cost another 9,000 pesetas ($1,200). A carpenter helped to make the changes. This became a good, light, fast bus that rarely broke down, unlike its predecessors. Thus by 1933 the Barreiroses had two good buses and one inferior one.[17]

In these circumstances, it was not surprising that Eduardo senior should have wished to extend his sphere of operations. In 1933 he asked the mayor of Orense for a prolongation of his monopoly line beyond Los Peares for another nine or so miles to Ferreira de Pantón, on the road to Montforte, already in the province of Lugo.

He obtained this permission though the advantage seemed for a long time modest since that road was narrow, badly built, curvy, mountainous, and thus dangerous. Though the town was healthy, Ferreira was cold in winter. It is true that trout and eels were found in the streams nearby, that wine was produced there, and that there were barley, wheat, and chestnuts. But these riches did not seem to compensate for the risks of the journey. The new route obliged the bus to leave Ferreira early in the morning, stopping four times before proceeding, via Los Peares, to Orense. All the same, since this was long before the coming of the popular family motor car, the Barreiros bus offered the best means of communication between these remote villages.

The new arrangement enlarged the experience in the Barreiros family in several ways. For example, there was a manufactory of coffins in Ferreira. So, many of those heavy wooden boxes would now be loaded on top of the Barrreiros bus bound for appreciative customers in Orense, or elsewhere, on the way.

The Barreiros buses also carried eggs and milk to be sold in Orense. A girl who worked in the Barreiroses' house would go to the bus station and collect this merchandise and take it to regular customers in the city. Eduardo disliked this side of his activity, but it was necessary since it brought in more money than fares.

In 1934 the Barreiroses exchanged one of their older buses for a new Dodge K47.[18] For this they had again to pay 6,000 pesetas a month, while the body that enabled twenty-four seats to be placed inside cost another 6,000 pesetas.

About this time, Eduardo had one of his first serious accidents: in Arce's workshop the top of one of his fingers was sliced off.

Life was not easy. In the winter the interior of the bus might be full of passengers, but Eduardo's hands froze as he climbed the ladder to exact the fares of those sitting on top.

6

A Clear, Bright Town

A clear, bright little town.

—Annette Meakin, c. 1910

After 1929 the Barreiros family always lived in cities. The rural bus service, however, continued for many more years to be the family's main source of income. Thus Eduardo remained daily in touch with the countryside that had created him.

The city of Orense in 1930 had a little more than 10,000 inhabitants (in 2008 it would have well over ten times that). It had seemed earlier in the century a "clear, bright little town, with more movement in its streets than was usual in most Gallegan cities."[1]

Orense in the early twentieth century was remarkable for its granite streets and houses. The insistent ring of chisel on granite was a typical sound in all Galicia since the region is a country of fine-grained white stone, and her quarrymen, with their unique songs, their special language and their important guilds, used to be a race apart. In the old days, the ambition of every successful Orensano was to have a house of that stone. Those white, many-windowed houses, indeed, with ancient coats of arms of forgotten families, "looked as if they would last forever."[2] But next to such palaces, there were often in the 1920s wooden whitewashed houses that looked as if they would crumble immediately into dust.

The city was uneven. Even the cobbled squares were on slopes.

Though Orense seemed ancient, an earlier city government in the eighteenth century had done away with the old walls, and the eleven gates of the place in the past were by then forgotten.

The city was traditionally known for three things:

tres cousas hai en Ourense
que non as hai en España:
o Santo Cristo, a ponte,
e as Burgas fervendo a auga.

[Three things there are in Orense
which are nowhere else in Spain:
the Santo Cristo, the bridge,
and the boiling water of the Burgas.]

That is, the image of Christ in the cathedral whose hair was said to go on growing; the Roman bridge; and the natural springs where many gallons of boiling water burst out every hour.

These three marvels had been more important in the past than they were in 1930. Take the Christ, the *Santo Cristo*, originally from Finisterre, where it was said to have been found in the sea and taken to Orense by a fourteenth-century bishop, Vasco Pérez Mariño. But it was also attributed to Nicodemus.[3] Some rope attached to a deep wound at the side was even held to be that which had bound Christ on the cross. In the past, this Christ had been prayed to more than any other religious figure in Galicia except for Santiago. But now in the twentieth century, prayers to the Santo Cristo were fewer.

The bridge had a span of twenty-five metres, which made it bigger than any other in Spain. It was attributed in part to the age of Augustus — that is, the first century A.D. It had, however, been replaced as the main way of entering Orense from Santiago by a new bridge put up in 1928, on the design of a well-known local engineer, Martín Díaz de la Banda. The Roman bridge was by the time that the Barreiroses arrived more admired than used.

Then the waters of the Burgas, with its rush of 80 gallons of hot water a minute, and once said to come from under the feet of the Santo Cristo in the cathedral, had been employed to clean fish and chickens, as for cooking and for laundry. But these old uses were in decay, since most of Orense had running water by 1930, and electricity had come in 1895.

The chief street of Orense in 1930 was the Calle del Paseo, which ran north-south to the plaza del Padre Feijóo. Running across it ran the Carretera de Trives, where Eduardo had gone to school with the patient Angelita. One should imagine him walking there in a neat uniform with a cap.

In what is now the Plaza Paz Novoa, shaded by acacias and magnolias, the popular Café Royalty was home to a literary circle (*peña*). Customers there might be reading *La Región*, a Catholic newspaper founded in 1910, or *El Heraldo de Galicia*, a more consciously Galleguista paper founded in 1930. Others might be reading *Nos*, an avant-garde review that featured articles or stories in Gallego by

excellent local writers, successors of Lamas Carvajal, such as Antón Losada Diéguez, Ramón Otero Pedrayo, or Vicente Risco.

There were many other cafés—some being *cafés cantantes.* Do not look down on the old provincial life of towns like these since in many respects, they made for a happier world than what we have now. The oldest café cantante, founded about 1900, was the *Méndez Núñez* in the Jardinillos. Five more were founded in the zone of the Alameda, one of these being in front of the then *seminario;* the Moderno, the most frivolous of the cafés cantantes, had been founded in 1905, with large amatory murals by the Corunna painter Apellaniz giving it a certain whiff of Paris.

In the district of the "Roman" bridge there were Los Monfortinos, La Perla, and El Lisardo, which last had a projecting balcony. From there you could salute singers (known as *cupletistas*) such as Rosario la Cartujana, with a voice "as warm and tremulous as a brown lemon"(!); Rosa Negra who, accompanied by two black pianists, would sing "Ay, Mamainé"; Antoñita Dato, the love of all the students of the time; Angelita Ero, who was so sensitive to the cold that she could not act at all when the temperature was low; and finally Bella Tufitos, who would always finish her act by rolling on the floor.[4]

When the Barreiros family came to live in Orense, the skyline of the city, like that of most European cities of the time, was dominated by the towers and spires of its many churches. In the case of Orense, as in so many other cities, the cathedral stood far higher than any other edifice having been built in its present form in the twelfth century, like most other such buildings of Galicia except for those in Santiago.[5] It seemed a fortress, an appropriate design in an age when religion would be attacked more than at any other time. Still, the observant could find in that building all kinds of interesting things: for example, the remains of the first *basílica,* founded by Charriaco, the king who persuaded his Germanic people, the Suevi, to convert to Christianity.[6]

Inside the cathedral are other treasures: for example, the gold cross of Enrique de Arfe, a German jeweller of the sixteenth century, this being a jet cross of the fifteenth century; forty enamels of Limoges of the twelfth century; a crystal chess set of the fifteenth century; and the oldest book printed in Galicia, the missal of Monterrey of 1494. Surely the teacher Angelita would have told Eduardo and his friends of these and other jewels. The cross of Arfe would figure in processions from the cathedral, carried by a *forzudo* (strong man), and preceded by giants.

The processions of Easter and Corpus Cristi, or of *carnaval,* ending with the ceremonial burial of the sardine, would probably have told the people of Orense, including the Barreiros family, more about religion than any visit to the cathedral.

There were, too, some admirable secular buildings in Orense though none

high enough to rival the churches' dominance of the skyline. For example, several palatial town houses had been built in the nineteenth century by a then fashionable architect, Antonio Crespo. Then Daniel Vázquez-Gulias as municipal architect in the 1920s had done much to "modernise" Orense with many new houses in the expansion of the nineteenth century, and especially with his new hotels: above all, the Hotel Roma in the broad Calle Progreso in the west of the city. This hotel became even more the soul of the city than the Café Royalty for, in its elaborate interior, all distinguished visitors would stay the night after their speech, their reading of their poems, or their lecture. In the Café Roma, under the hotel, a "peña," or regular meeting of wise men, mostly contributors to the *revista Nos*, met regularly. So, there you could expect to meet such creative men as Vicente Risco and Ramón Otero, famous for their recent large-scale novels, *O Porco das Pé* in the case of the first, *Os Caminos da Vida* in the case of the second.

The Barreiroses would, however, have been much more interested in the industries of the city than in its intellectual stars. At the time they arrived there, the most important business was still that founded in the previous century by the Belgian entrepreneur Manuel Malingre. As earlier recalled, this business had been, in its early days, established just at the side of the plaza de San Lázaro, close to where the Barreiroses now lived, but it had long ago moved out to the suburb of El Couto, on the road to the south. Manuel's two sons, Manuel II and Antonio, had controlled the business for many years until the former's death in 1930. In that year, the firm probably employed seventy people making pots (*potes*), grills (*verjas*), staircases (*escaleras*), kitchens (*cocinas*), and statues of iron (*estatuas de hierro*). Despite the Depression the firm seemed busy in the early 1930s, always advertising the new magic, central heating, which they had put into the Hotel Roma as well as in the Café Royalty, the *bibilioteca provincial*, as well as in the Campsa building and in a few private houses.

There were also a number of textile businesses and tanneries in Orense, as well as a marble cutter, a lumber plant, and several silversmiths; but none of these businesses were large employers. The cloth of Orense, though of excellent quality, could not compete with that of Catalonia in the twentieth century. Nor could any of these businesses put themselves forward as a modern undertaking to rival wine as Orense's main export to the rest of Spain.

If there were few modern businesses in Orense, there were, though, some modern businessmen, many of them hailing from Zamora—and they had often come first as travelling salesmen. Thus Fernando Villanueva from Asturias had inspired a chamber of commerce; and the Barreiros family naturally knew the bus operator, Andrés Perille, "Mil Negocios" ("1,000 Deals"), who had been their rival in the business of opening up the valley of the Miño.

Being concerned so much in his father's businesses, from sieves to buses, from such an early age, Eduardo Barreiros did not have a childhood in the normal sense of the word. For him, a crank shaft (*cigüeñal*) was probably the best toy in the world! All the same, the Barreiroses' house was just next to the Parque de San Lázaro, and Eduardo's sister, María Luz, remembers playing there. It took its name from an old lazaretto (*lazareto*) that had been there from time immemorial. The park was surrounded by vines trained over poles, under one section of which was now the wooden shed (*nave*) of Rogelio Fernández. In the centre of the park was a fountain that, like that in the Plaza de los Cueros, had been brought from the monastery of Osera. The park was usually muddy and full of disorganised trees. In the past a weekly market had been held there for the sale of mules, pigs, sheep, horses, and cattle, but later it became a site for a cattle fair concerned with the fiesta of San Roque in mid August, the most important of the fiestas in the city.

The fiesta of San Lázaro in the park of that name was a prelude to Semana Santa, and thus took place in March or early April, depending on the date of Easter. There were at that time two processions in connection with it, one on Saturday, one on Sunday. On the first of these days, the image of San Lázaro would be carried ceremoniously on a float the short distance from his chapel in the church of San Francisco to the church of Santo Domingo, in the street of the same name. On Sunday, the image would be returned to its home accompanied by fireworks. An artistically designed artificial arch would be placed in the park, in the Calle Cardenal Quevedo, just opposite the Barreiroses' house.[7]

There were in those days three cinemas in Orense: one in what had been the Teatro Principal, where in 1929 the first "talkie" was shown: *Río Rita*. The Calle Pontevedra had a rough-and-ready cinema hall, and there was also the Salón Apollo.

Orense, it was sometimes said, was made by the places surrounding it, and that seemed to be so in the 1920s when the city was regularly invaded by peasants from those villages: an uninterrupted procession of carts, donkeys, cattle, horses, and pigs. The *plaza mayor*, near the town hall and the cathedral, and other streets in that zone were for hours dominated by long-smocked farmers and many women, too, wearing mulberry-coloured, crimson, maroon, scarlet, gold, or white scarves on their heads. Sometimes still in the 1930s one would see men in black or brown velvet or velvet corduroy, with black felt hats. The streets would be muddy for hours, and the shop assistants would be at their wits' end since the farmers were as demanding in their sales as in their purchases.[8]

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Book II

The Spanish Catastrophe

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7

People Lived for Politics

> People then lived for politics, no one talked of anything else, and they prophesied catastrophe.
>
> —*Torrente Ballester*, Filomeno, a mi pesar

The serene impression of life in Orense in the "happy years" of the 1920s and early 1930s given in the previous chapter omits one element, alas, necessary to consider—namely, politics. The Barreiroses were the reverse of political. Probably they would have agreed with Jane Austen, who in *Northanger Abbey* comments, "from politics it was an easy step to silence." They were strong Catholics, it is true, but Catholics who loved their families (and their buses!). They were rural people, if rural people with a vision.

All the same, after arriving in Orense, they could not insulate themselves from the drama of national life. One reason was that Catholicism became, in those years, a political issue. Luzdivina, as we have seen, was a strong Catholic, Eduardo *padre* almost equally so, and Celsa, Luzdivina's sister, was now a nun. A reading of local left-wing papers would have suggested that Catholics would have no future: thus in July 1935 *El Obrero* in El Ferrol proclaimed, "It is essential that people never forget the crimes, the hundreds of thousands buried in the name of this ill-fated religion."[1] The new republic in Spain after 1931 made the future of religious orders a political matter. Catholic education, which the Barreiros parents would insist upon for their children, was so too. Nor did Eduardo senior, a hardworking man who expected to pay his way in life, like the idea promoted by the Socialists in Orense of issuing food tickets that could be honoured in their headquarters, *casa del pueblo*.[2]

To use a motoring metaphor: in the 1930s, there were no bypasses to enable

people to avoid politics. Torrente Ballester, in his fine novel *Filomeno, a mi pesar*, commented, "People then lived for politics, no one talked of anything else, and they prophesied catastrophe."[3]

Yet the artistic creativity of Spain was at a high level. Not since the golden age of the sixteenth century had the country experienced anything comparable. People from Spain were world leaders in all the arts, including new ones such as the cinema. In the rhetoric of politicians, originality was also to be seen. Dangerous originality, no doubt, but originality certainly. There seemed a hundred ways of reviving the country. Anarchists and Socialists, Communists and liberals, Fascists and traditionalists, monarchists and generals each had a special revivalist message to offer. A Carlist from Orense, Bautista Pérez de Cabo, wrote in an article in *La Región* of that city in June 1936 that the soul of Spain had been sleeping in the crypt of El Escorial since the days of Philip II: "We must prepare hearts and steel. Here's to the Reconquest of the soul of Spain!"[4] Spanish politicians were concerned with radical improvement at all costs. That much was agreed. But no one agreed how that change was going to be carried out. The result was war.

The eloquent Orensano Vicente Risco wrote in his short history of Galicia how with the return of King Fernando VII after the Napoleonic wars in 1815, "political struggles began. In Galicia much of the clergy of both secular and monastic, along with many nobles and part of the middle class, were monarchists. Many hidalgos, professional people and business people were liberals. The peasants [including, perhaps we can assume, the nineteenth-century ancestors of the Barreiros] were indifferent."[5] So a version of democratic politics came into being.

Politics in the twentieth century seemed no improvement. The most serious problem seemed to be that of *caciquismo*, a useful word indicating that power was de facto exercised by a certain landowner, regardless of how people voted. The leading *cacique* of the province of Orense in the early twentieth century was the Conde de Bugallal, who had twice been minister of finance in Spain. Even the political Right deplored his methods of local control. That formidable, eloquent, fascinating, and, to the Left, alarming politician José Calvo Sotelo, a Gallego born in Tuy whose family house was in Ribadeo on the border of Lugo and Asturias, wrote after an electoral defeat in 1917 by the Conde de Bugallal: "Everything political is a fraud in Galicia. In most electoral districts [*municipios*] the results are never verified. . . . the electoral mechanism is simulated with supreme perfection. For this kind of calligraphic delicacy *mi tierra* abounds in artists. There are people capable of creating in an hour the precise ways of giving the right padding to the documentation of a district."[6] In Orense (the capital) this role was played under all regimes, Republican as well as monarchist, left as well

as right, by Faustino Santalices, the long-serving secretary to the civil governor—a man who had established himself as a specialist in the music of Galicia. A Communist from Valdeorras, Santiago Álvarez, spoke of him as "always the master."[7]

The old regime in Spain lasted till the fall of General Primo de Rivera in 1930. He did not mind admitting that he was, in the Roman sense of the word, a "dictator": he sought to provide an extraordinary magistracy in a time of crisis. He was warmhearted and even up to a point a liberal. Censorship was light. No one died in prison as a result of his politics, though some anarchists were killed trying to enter Spain illegally over the Pyrenees. Primo de Rivera conducted his government as if it were an officer's mess in a good regiment.

The rambling declarations through which the dictator communicated to the country had charm: thus on January 7, 1930, he announced that his purpose had been "to undertake little and tighten up much, that is to say, to revise, touch up, consolidate, adjust and inspect my work." He thought that "the dictatorship ought probably to be brought to an end because it was close to the patriotic and adequate moment to do so."[8] Both his most powerful ministers were Gallegos: the aforementioned Calvo Sotelo at finance and the minister of the interior, the affable and unpolitical General Severiano Martínez Anido. It is true that Primo de Rivera tried to found a Fascist party, the Unión Patriótica, in distant imitation of Mussolini's. But it never had much success. More important, Primo de Rivera benefited from the support, in the early days of his rule, of labour leaders such as Francisco Largo Caballero and the miners' leader in Asturias, Manuel Llaneza.[9]

Primo de Rivera's *dictadura* gave way to the "dictablanda" of General Berenguer. He and the monarchy itself were carried away by the strong wave of Republicanism that swept through the country in the municipal elections of April 1931. The defenders of the monarchy were unprepared. The king left Spain in order, so he himself said, to avoid "a fratricidal civil war," though adding that he only "suspended his powers."[10] He did not abandon them. Then a gathering of inexperienced left Republicans, Socialists, radicals, and Catalan separatists formed an administration. None of the new minsters had ever been in a government before.

In Orense, the position was not so distressing for the Right as in the rest of the country. In that capital, the conservatives won nine seats on the council, the monarchists four. Against that, the Republicans won six seats, the Socialists four, while several other seats were won by Gallego nationalists of different views. Luis Fábrega, a chemist and chairman of the local Republican party, was installed as the mayor, and so was a new civil governor, of the same persuasion: Joaquín Pozo Juncal.

In the countryside of Orense the Left did badly. They won no councillors in any *ayuntamiento*. We do not know how the Barreiros family voted but surely it was for a conservative party. They would not have welcomed the changes promised in Madrid nor the changes in names of well-known streets in Orense.

After so many years without any elections, these tests of opinion now seemed never to stop. An election for a constituent assembly was held in June 1931. The Right were still badly organised. The Left won nationally. In Orense, for once, eight out of the nine seats were won by left Republicans, or radicals, or Socialists, and only one by the Right. That one was the seat gained in his absence by José Calvo Sotelo, who was in exile in Paris since the fall of the king and who scarcely went further in his election campaign than to have his manifesto published in *La Región*. Had he come back to Spain, he would have risked imprisonment.

Next year, a committee was established in the University of Corunna to discuss a statute of autonomy in Galicia on the model of those under way in Catalonia and the Basque country. Until recently Galleguismo had seemed an engaging literary activity, but without any political dimension. Now quite suddenly it seemed to become a serious matter. The Barreiroses would have been suspicious. But they would have been pleased by the organisation in October 1931 of Acción Ciudadana Gallega, the beginning of a right-wing party in the province, itself the germ of the formidable proto-Christian democratic CEDA (Confederación de Derechas Autónomas).

Of course, for the Barreiros family these were primarily the years of the purchase of first the Dodge and then the Ford buses.[11] Both Eduardos were still more concerned with whether a new effective product had entered the American bus market than whether there was a new constitutional arrangement in Galicia. No political discussions interrupted their hard journeys to Ferreira de Pantón. There is a fine photograph of the two buses showing the family in 1932 with the chauffeur Arturo, and with the words "Empresa Barreiros" written proudly on the side and with wooden seats on top. Eduardo, aged thirteen in his cloth coverall, looks every inch the efficient ticket collector. Fernández Quintas, the son of the Barreiroses' neighbour, the ironmaster Rogelio Fernández, commented, looking at this picture, "Of course, Eduardo organised everything on the bus, even if he was still just a boy, he was always ingenious."[12]

Elections came yet again in November 1933. This time the Right were ready. Calvo Sotelo, the absent leader, again stood for Orense. Physically he was, however, still in Paris and waged his campaign by telephone.

Nationally in 1933 the Right gained over three million votes,[13] the Centre over two million,[14] while the Left could muster only three million.[15] Because of election alliances, or the lack of them, the elections also gave an uneven answer: the

new Catholic party of José María Gil Robles (the CEDA, established in February 1933) found themselves with 115 seats, the monarchists of Calvo Sotelo and his friends (now known as Renovación Española because they too wished to remake the nation, not necessarily on an old-fashioned Alfonsine monarchist basis) 16, the Radicals 104, and the Agrarians 36. In contrast, the Left won a mere 93 seats.

In Orense, Calvo Sotelo's party won three seats: he himself; his Gallego colleague in the Ministry of Finance, Andrés Amado; and José Sabucedo, who had previously stood for the caciquismo associated with the control of the Conde de Bugallal. But now Calvo Sotelo had made his peace with him. He had more pressing enemies on the Left.

The Socialists and the Gallego nationalists came nowhere in this election. Neither did the Communists nor the new Spanish Fascists of the Falange.

The upshot was that the elderly, easygoing, amiable, witty, but corrupt radical from Barcelona, Alejandro Lerroux, formed a government in Madrid. But the CEDA, the largest party, was, however, hovering in the wings of power; and Calvo Sotelo, the proud deputy for Orense, was soon able to make a personal impact also since an amnesty for political supporters of the old dictatorship was swiftly introduced.

Once the new government was in place, Spain saw an extraordinary event. The Socialists had gained only about 60 seats in the elections of 1933. They convinced themselves that Lerroux's radical government was leading Spain towards a version of the Fascism, or Nazism, or just corporativism, which was proving so compelling a force in central Europe. In those countries, the Socialists seemed to have been defeated by "Fascism" without putting up a fight. That seemed a challenge to the Spanish Left. Gil Robles, the leader of the CEDA, seemed to be the Spanish "Duce" of the future. But they did not listen. When three minor members of the CEDA—one of them Manuel Jiménez Fernández, an enlightened scholar—entered the government on October 5, 1934—the Socialists called a revolutionary general strike throughout Spain.

The strike failed in Madrid. A similar, more complicated movement in Barcelona to "establish a Catalan state within the Federal Spanish republic"[16] was also ineffective. But in Asturias the Socialists, allied with local anarchists, and with the energetic help of a few Communists, embarked on a real challenge to the existing government.

The ensuing rebellion lasted two weeks, there were many deaths on both sides, sometimes in horrible circumstances, and much damage was done, especially by the anarchists. The revolution was put down only by a full-scale military operation in which the Foreign Legion and Moroccan troops (*regulares*) were sent

into action by an already famous young Gallego general, Francisco Franco, from El Ferrol, who had been brought in as acting chief of staff.

This action had terrible consequences. First, it gave Spain's conservatives an inkling of how cruel a left-wing revolution might be; second, it gave the Left a picture of how brutal the military repression would be in the face of any renewal of such working-class violence. Third, it was an indication of how Spain was overshadowed by what was perceived, or believed, to be happening elsewhere: in Germany and Italy by the Left, in Russia by the Right.

The aftermath was politically explosive, for though there were only two death sentences imposed on the rebels of Asturias, there was much sporadic repression and the leading Socialists found themselves in prison condemned for rebellion. Many were treated brutally in confinement. In the jails the prisoners allowed themselves to move in an ever more leftward direction; indeed, towards a connivance at the idea of another stage in "the revolution."

The rising of 1934 had no justification. It was inspired by a collective mood of unreason. It is true that sometimes Gil Robles had spoken with excessive energy in the election campaign: "Our generation has been entrusted with a great mission. That of creating a new State, a new Nation. . . . What if that requires our own blood to be shed! To us, democracy is not the goal but the means to achieve a new State."[17]

But that phraseology did not justify Largo Caballero's words ("the Socialist Party is aiming to conquer power. . . . Legally, if possible").[18] Largo said, "I want a society free from class-struggles but for that it's necessary to make one class disappear."[19] As a serious and gifted Gallego intellectual, Salvador de Madariaga—he had been born into a military family in Corunna—wrote, "The revolution of 1934 was unpardonable. [With it] . . . the Spanish left lost all authority to condemn the rebellion of 1936."[20]

The same judgement was echoed internationally by the then opposition (Socialist) spokesman for foreign affairs in England, Hugh Dalton, who thought that the Spanish Left "shared responsibility with the Right for the breakdown of democracy."[21]

In Orense a general strike was called in these days by the small Socialist party, and work in the Malingre factory, on the railways, and on the newspaper *La Región (Orense)* came to a temporary stop. But the civil governor, Simeón Ibars Areste, dealt with the situation firmly. First, he addressed Orense on the radio. The first transmitter of Radio Orense had been opened earlier that year, and the civil governor took full advantage of that. He explained that the strike was illegal and threatened a withdrawal of employment to all who refused to return to their

place of work. Colonel Cuevillas, commander of the troops in the ex-cloister of San Francisco, declared a state of war in the province that gave him emergency powers. Then believing that, as *La Región* put it on October 9, there was "tranquillity," he and his men set out by train for Ponferrada and then Asturias.

As to how the Barreiros family reacted to this crisis, Eduardo recalled that the Ministry of War "requisitioned the two buses we then had, to supply the army in Asturias. With the Dodge went Papa, with the other [the Ford] our chauffeur Arturo. I went myself to the [military] *jefe del parque móvil* in Orense and talked him into lending me a big Buick convertible [*descapotable]* so that our bus service was not interrupted. We didn't want to lose our valuable trade in carrying merchandise, including eggs, from one place to another. [In the Buick] I enlarged the luggage area, and, in the interior, admittedly in a crowded form, *una forma apiñada*, we put twelve passengers. So we did not have to interrupt our instalment payments."[22]

Eduardo senior drove to Asturias not as a party man, but as a good Catholic, he backed the army. As for Eduardo junior, the opportunity afforded by his father's absence was also important. He was fifteen in October 1934. He said later of himself: "At this time, I was already an *hombrecito* who could not only drive well but could mend any breakdown in any car."[23]

In the next two difficult years, this "*hombrecito*" had other experiences that would mark him for life. First Eduardo was one day walking in Orense, perhaps going from his home in the Calle Cardenal Quevedo to Arce's workshop near the railway station, when he was attacked by a young Communist—the attacker could have been anyone of the Left—and, in broad daylight, he dragged off the cross and the picture of Our Lady that Eduardo wore on a chain round his neck. Eduardo was physically hurt but at the same time outraged.[24] The event provoked him to take a political decision for the first (and, indeed, almost the only) time in his life: to join the Carlist youth movement, the "Pelayos." There is an attractive picture of him in the uniform of that movement in the family album, dedicated to his aunt, Luzdivina's sister, the nun Celsa.

A Carlist soldier was in those days a *requeté* (a word deriving from the nineteenth century indicating a unit of men as well as a militiaman). A young Carlist was a *pelayo*, called after the founder of the Asturian dynasty of the eighth century, and a girl supporter was a *margarita* (called after the archduchess Margarita, the daughter of the Duchess of Parma who married "Carlos VII," the Carlist pretender of the 1870s).

The Carlists in Orense, as in the rest of Galicia, were a memory from the nineteenth century rather than a modern political force. But things were changing:

Manuel Fal Conde, the Seville Carlist who had become national secretary of the "communion," was an effective organiser. The Carlists had supported the government in 1934, just as Eduardo senior had.

Carlism thereafter made progress. What Eduardo did was done by thousands throughout the country. The leader of the Catholic youth, the Juventudes de Acción Popular (JAP), José María Valiente, resigned from the CEDA when his journal was suspended by the party leadership, and in June 1935 joined the Carlists. One historian of the movement wrote that "instead of being little more than somnolent clubs for the elderly and middle-aged, Carlist circles now provided a growing number of Carlists with . . . a counterculture to what they considered the . . . godless world of Republican Spain. . . . They disliked republican aims in education, urged battles against immoral films, and 'jewish pornography.'"[25]

Some *requetés* also began to be trained for military action. Money was raised by demanding 2 percent of everyone's income. Some of this was spent on arms. The same was true of other parties in those days: Ramón Sender's novel *Seven Red Sundays* reflected the comparable activity on the Left.

Orense was a province where there was substantial growth in the numbers of trained men even if they never approached Navarrese levels.[26]

The deputy for Orense, Calvo Sotelo, now able to have a normal political life back in Spain, was trying to form what he called a "national counter-revolutionary front."[27] The Carlist leadership were unenthusiastic about this, as they were about Calvo Sotelo himself, whom they considered to be an "Alfonsist." But most of the Carlist deputies signed with the latter a pact of cooperation.

All things considered, it was logical at that time for an energetic boy in a Catholic family, such as Eduardo, to join the Carlist movement as a youth member. He might have joined the JAP, the youth movement of the CEDA, but the historic sense of the Carlist "communion" was a more powerful attraction. There was too the Falange, which suggested a more violent modernism, but at that time, it seemed anti-Catholic. To join the Carlist "Communion" was a preferable commitment.

Eduardo did not do much with his new attachment to the Carlists. He was only just fifteen and his time was wholly taken up with his father's buses and learning from experience in the taller how they worked.

The year 1935 saw further political upheaval throughout Spain and some street violence even in remote Orense.

In April 1935 *La Región* commented on "the outrages of the marxists" in the streets of Orense: "On Sunday, the Fascists came out to the streets to fight the Marxists and defeat them. We condemn any kind of violence."[28]

Perhaps it was of this battle that the first biographer of José Antonio, Felipe Ximénez de Sandoval, commented: "In Galicia there are clashes with such elements [the red *pistoleros*], at which the Falange of Orense covered themselves with glory."[29]

Then in September 1935, after speeches in Corunna, Vigo, and Lalín, Calvo Sotelo was also in Orense, his constituency, where he spoke at the Hotel Roma, as did Sabucedo and Amado, his colleagues. He had by now established a political alliance that he called the "Bloque Nacional." In these months, great phrases left the lips of Calvo with profusion. In El Urumea, a sports hall in San Sebastián, for example, he first said, "I would rather have a red Spain than a broken Spain."[30] In a speech in the café de San Isidro of Orense, he said, "I'll change the battle cry of 'Santiago and close ranks Spain!' for that of 'Santiago and open wide Spain, to bring in fresh air and rid her of Marxism and Masonry!'" Then, in his book *El capitalismo contemporáneo y su evolución*, he argued, "Capitalism is a social nucleus opened to the four winds. It does not, therefore, stand as a class. There is no such thing as a capitalist class."[31]

Eduardo was usually too busy to take part in these street engagements. But there was one in which he did participate. Fernández Quintas, the son of the iron master of the San Lázaro, remembers how a football match took place in the stadium of La Loña on a sloping site where there are now the Calles Rodríguez Castelao and Celso Emilio Ferreiro. "At the end, the street was full of people, and I remember seeing, on the wall of the monastery of San Francisco, the words 'Viva el comunismo!' [Long live Communism!] and other slogans, and Eduardo, with a tin of paint, wrote up 'Muera el comunismo' [Death to Communism]." This led to a regular street battle in which Eduardo was supported by friends who were mending the road—so there were plenty of stones available. "Both sides threw pebbles at each other, (though the Left seemed to acquire catapults), and we started to throw these, I don't remember how many bruises we caused, Eduardo showing his qualities as leader."[32]

We approach the fatal elections of February 1936. At that time, after the failure and discrediting of the radical leader Lerroux, the interim prime minister was one more Gallego, Manuel Portela Valladares, an ambiguous personality of the centre Right.[33] The election campaign was harsh. Calvo Sotelo, as the outgoing deputy for Orense and once more a candidate there, played a major part.

In January 1936, Gil Robles spoke in the Teatro Principal, Orense. He was introduced by a right-wing Galleguista, Blanco Rajoy, and the crowd, recalling the time only a few months past when Gil Robles seemed the potential saviour of the nation, shouted in enthusiasm, "*Jefe, jefe, jefe.*" These were the days when the Socialist secretary general, Largo Caballero, up until so recently the essence

of bureaucratic, trade unionist Socialism, seemed to be moving towards Communism: "Our duty is to bring Socialism. And when we speak of Socialism, we must . . . speak of Marxist Socialism, revolutionary Socialism." Then he said, even more menacingly, "We are determined to repeat in Spain what was done in Russia. The programme of Spanish Socialism and that of Communism is the same."[34]

Most of the election campaign of Calvo Sotelo was in Galicia. Political campaigns in those days were much harder work than they are today. He spoke on January 26 in Lugo, then he went to Orense, in a caravan of about sixty cars. On the twenty-seventh he spoke in the Cine Curros Enríquez in Celanova and the casino of Allariz; on the twenty-eighth, he was in Carballino and Ribadavia; and on the twenty-ninth in Trives, Barco de Valdeorras, Verín, and Ginzo de Limia. On February 1 he spoke in the Teatro Principal of Santiago de Compostela and on the second he was in Corunna at the Teatro Rosalía.[35]

Calvo Sotelo concluded his campaign in the Teatro Principal in Orense, where Amado and Sabucedo also spoke. Behind the speakers, the red cross of Santiago hung. Calvo repeated his now-famous phrase, "I prefer a red Spain to a broken Spain." He said also, rather finely, "Tradition is to people what a soul is to man. The soul remains forever. . . . Rather than say that something is good because it's old, one should say that it is old because it's good."[36]

On February 16 Spain voted again. Overall, after the first round the CEDA had 101 seats, the *centristas* 21, *tradicionalistas* 15, Calvo Sotelo's Spanish Renovation 13, Lliga 12, and the Agrarians 11. Despite their constant street activity, the Falange did not win a seat. On the Left, the PSOE gained 88, the Left Republicans 79, the Republican Union party (a subdivision of the Radicals) 34, the Catalan Left Republicans 22, and the Communists 14. So the Left had gained a narrow victory that enabled Manuel Azaña again to form a government. These results were in many cases, however, fraudulent.[37]

In Orense, the elected candidates were José Sabucedo (who, ex-*bugallalista* though he was, now seemed "the key man" of Spanish Renovation in Galicia) with over 90,000 votes; and both Calvo Sotelo and Andrés Amado, both Renovation, with over 80,000 votes each. Three members of the CEDA were also elected.

There were accusations of a "scandalous manipulation of votes." But no one wanted Calvo Sotelo to seek the "insurrectional path" and, though over 100,000 votes were eventually annulled, he retained his seat. The two centrists lost theirs.[38]

The Carlists stood for the first time in Orense. Like the Falange and the Com-

munists, they gained no seat there even if in Spain as a whole they gained in the end thirteen deputies.

In the spring of 1936 there was in Orense, as elsewhere in Spain, much skirmishing between groups, with some deaths and wounded—even in such usually calm *ayuntamientos* as Valdeorras and Ribeiro. Strikes in the Malingre factory and on the Orense-Corunna railway line were seen as protests against the Falange and the JAPs.[39] There was apparently also an enormous tension in the countryside where there were numerous attacks on right-wing people, burning of churches and attacks on priests.

These were heady days. The Falangista leaders, including José Antonio, were all arrested in March on the accusation of holding illegal meetings; on March 26, *La Región* reported that that legendary bacillus of revolution, the Hungarian Communist Bela Kun and "some colleagues from Moscow" had reached Barcelona, "finalising details about their action in Spain." On April 19 Carrascosa, the civil governor of Orense who had been appointed by the previous government, announced, "In order to avoid the continuous noise during the night in this town . . . by undesirable social elements who usually resort to violent methods to adjust political antogonisms . . . I have agreed that all establishments concerned in the selling of wine, taverns or similar places shall close at midnight."[40]

All the same, *La Región* on May 13 carried another violent article by Pérez de Cabo, entitled "The Necessary Rupture": "Let's break with the past as from today, completely and with resolution; so that our vengeance can be implacable while not ceasing to be just."[41]

Education played a part in these atrocious events: thus on May 19, an association of Catholic parents refused to send their children to state schools.[42] Eduardo Barreiros Nespereira would surely have been in support. The parents told the Ministry of Education that they were acting illegally.[43] These moves affected nearly all the Barreiros children.

On June 7, the first of Orense's two annual *fiestas mayores*, that of the Corpus, began. Two Communists (José Nova, aged thirty-four, and Julio Novares Castro, aged thirty-two) were killed, and a few hours later a boy from the JAP was wounded. The consequence was a general strike in the city, lasting four days, including the suspension of the local papers. Two more people were murdered at the funerals of the Communists.[44]

In June also, in the Parque de San Lázaro in Orense, there was another incident in which Eduardo was concerned. It is hard to distinguish the details from the events in the football field in defence of the monastery some months before.

But Eduardo was presumably referring to this second one when he said in a manuscript memoir that "on two occasions in June, I was the victim of brutal treatment by extremists."[45] Fernández Quintas thought that "these were not really political battles, they were harmless struggles between boys!"[46] Yet struggles between boys are sometimes more important than they seem.

On June 14, in the Circo Feijóo, the flames of excitement were fanned by an important meeting about the autonomy statute. A text had by then been prepared. There was, as there would be after 1978, a legislative assembly for the region, a president and a government or Junta.[47] Present were Alejandro Bóveda (the local leader of the Galleguista party), López Bouza (ex–civil governor), and one of the two best writers of Galicia, Vicente Risco, who presided. Orators included a Galleguista, Carballo Calero, who declared: "El centralismo cortó su libertad; ahora va a resucitar la historia" (What we mostly care about is the liberation of Galicia).[48] Liberation was perhaps too easy a word to use.

Two weeks later, after many more meetings on the subject, a plebiscite was held in Galicia on the matter of the new statute. The valid votes cast were 1,000,135, or 74.53 percent, of whom 991,476 voted in favour, only 6,161 against, only 1,453 abstained.[49]

The statute was never applied. Events far more appalling, far worse even than those of 1934, were tragically close at hand.

8

There Came Forth from the Soil Armed Men

> Thus in the days of fables, after the floods and deluges, there came forth from the soil armed men who exterminated each other.
>
> —*Montesquieu*, L'Esprit des Lois, *bk.* 33, *ch.* 23

The brilliant, eloquent, and imaginative leader of the monarchist opposition, José Calvo Sotelo, deputy for Orense, in June 1936 in the Cortes taunted his fellow Gallego, the prime minister Santiago Casares Quiroga, deputy for Corunna, for his weakness in the face of Communist threats.

Three weeks later, early in the morning of July 13, Calvo Sotelo was seized in his flat in the Calle Velázquez in Madrid by a captain of the civil guard, Fernando Condés, who came from Pontevedra. The statesman was put a prisoner into a police car and driven towards the Retiro park. Just as the car passed the junction of the Calle Velázquez with the Calle Ayala, Luis Cuenca, one of those who accompanied Condés, shot Calvo Sotelo in the head. He died instantly. The murderer, like nearly everyone else in this terrible story, was a Gallego, for he was from Corunna, though he had spent some years in Cuba as a bodyguard to the president of that republic, General Machado.

This shocking *noche gallega* in Madrid was the trigger of civil war in Spain. If the most important leader of the opposition could be kidnapped without a warrant by a member of the police in uniform and then killed by one of that policeman's comrades, what hope, the Right asked, was there for legitimate life? The government had been legitimately elected, but this murder showed that they could not preserve order. The death of Calvo Sotelo was the signal for putting into practice a plan for a coup d'état prepared by right-wing army officers. Perhaps the plot would have been carried through anyway, sooner or later, even if a

justification had not been forthcoming. But the murder of the deputy of Orense made the attempted coup d'état inevitable.

All over the Spanish mainland, and in the Canary and Balearic Islands, as a consequence of a carefully worked-out plan, generals, colonels, or in some cases mere majors sought to take authority by declaring "a state of war": a legal term enabling them to try opponents by court martial, to prohibit political life, and to close trade unions and newspapers. These officers were supported by Fascists (of the Falange, though most of the leaders of that tiny party had already been imprisoned); by the Carlist militias; and by the Catholic youth movement, the JAP.

The leaders of civilian authority, such as the mayors and civil governors, had a difficult decision: to either rally to the rising or resist it and risk arrest and probable death. Trade union leaders generally pressed these dignitaries to give them the arms that they believed to be held in the garrison of the city concerned. Many hesitated and were lost, but in about half of Spain, they acted and the coup d'état was unsuccessful. There, the government maintained itself, though the action of the army was the signal for the unleashing of a left-wing revolution of the very kind that the military plotters feared and had specifically wanted to obstruct: the anarchist Federica Montseny made that point rather well in a speech a year later, stating, "The generals' insurrection inspired a revolution that we all wished for, only no one expected it so soon."[1] Arrests, summary trials, and executions also followed in the "Republican zone." These appalling events were the prologue to a civil war that constituted the worst event in Spanish history.

In Galicia alone of the regions of Spain the rising was everywhere successful. The provinces of Corunna, Pontevedra, Lugo and Orense were immediately won for the rebellion, though there was fighting in Vigo and in Corunna.

In Orense, events were untypical. On July 18, rumours were uncontrolled that a coup d'état was imminent. As in most provincial capitals, a small garrison of troops held the key to what would happen. Thus in Orense the same battalion of infantry belonging to the twelfth regiment of Zaragoza, which had acted decisively in 1934, was still in the barracks in the cloister of San Francisco, overlooking the city. Their commander was Major José Ceano, who was waiting for orders from Salcedo, the general in command in Corunna, the military regional capital. Ceano had already had a political experience as *delegado gubernativo* in Gijón in Asturias after the revolution there in 1934. Since the general in Corunna was not a part of the conspiracy (and would be shot for "rebellion" within days), Ceano never received those orders. Instead, the military governor of the province, Colonel Luis Soto Rodríguez, who had been born in El Ferrol and was then aged fifty-seven, embarked on a plan to rally the capital and the countryside as fast as possible to the plot with whose leaders he had been in touch. Soto was

a hard, ruthless man for whom the shedding of blood never seemed a problem. He had married the daughter of a banker in Orense and therefore knew the local scene.[2]

While everyone was waiting, the civil governor, the recently appointed Gonzalo Martín March, a mild left Republican politician who until June had been director of a school in Pontevedra, telephoned the trade union leaders in the city. He was a good-natured but inexperienced Democrat who knew little of the Gallego language and little about Galicia.

The trade union leaders urged Martín March to give them weapons in case of a rebellion. He could not bring himself to do such a thing. His opposite number in Bilbao, José Echevarría Novo, told him on the telephone that he should go ahead with that action. "Have you gone mad!" expostulated Martín March. "Give arms to the people? That would mean a civil war!"[3]

Next day, the nineteenth, *La Región* reported, "Yesterday a subversive movement was launched, whose extent cannot be estimated. We know that up until now it has affected Morocco, the Canary Islands and Seville." That was the nearest that that Catholic paper got to any criticism of the politics of the Spanish Right. The editor added his apologies that he could not give his readers the kind of information to which they were accustomed. Thereafter, for three days the printers on the paper held a strike and so nothing was published about the extraordinary events that then followed in Orense as in many other places. Meantime, the *empresa* Barreiros continued with its twice-daily bus journeys to Ferreira de Pantón as usual and as if nothing untoward was happening.

On the morning of July 20, with much of Spain already won for the rebellion of the generals, the civil governor sent Francisco Ayala, the commander of the small company of carabineers, whom he trusted, to talk to Major Ceano in the San Francisco barracks. The latter told Ayala that in his opinion, with half of Spain either in revolution or counter-revolution, the civil governor ought to hand over all authority to the military. Ayala said that Martín March was considering arming the trade unionists in order to save the republic. Ceano said firmly that at the first sound of any gunfire, he would immediately deploy his artillery against the civil government. He then took Ayala to see the military governor, Luis Soto. While they were talking, Ceano's troops set out for the local centres of power, such as the headquarters of both the civil guard and the assault troops, as well as the town hall and the commissariat of police, and finally the palace of the civil governor.

Another officer now moved into the centre of the stage in Orense. This was Major Antonio Casar, the judge advocate of the city. He gave a determined speech to the civil guard and the assault troops, a special police founded in 1931

by the Republican government, and then went to the civil government where, pistol in hand, he harangued Martín March and his colleagues. The civil governor protested and withdrew to his office. Casar broke in and arrested him. He then posted a document of seventeen articles that declared a state of war. Another officer, Colonel Marcelino Mira Cecilia, who had retired under Azaña's law of 1932, then seized the town hall, but the Socialist mayor, Manuel Suárez Castro, escaped through the back door. Mira established himself in the mayor's office and by telephone called on ten councillors, all monarchists, who had been in that position in 1931, to resume their old places at the council table.

At the same time, Colonel Luis Soto Rodríguez declared himself civil, as well as military, governor of Orense. His first action was to dissolve all the town councils of the smaller towns in the province and to call on the secretaries of those institutions to perform any work necessary. In Orense itself, the eternal figure of Faustino Santalices was at his disposal, as he had been at that of his predecessors, stretching back well into the monarchy. In early August, Soto gave up the civil government to a retired colonel, Manuel Quiroga Macía, an Orensano who had earlier seized the Diputación Provincial. But Soto remained military governor and seemed enthusiastic in arranging "*paseos*" (that is, executions) of Republicans and Socialists, and his name has remained a byword for inflexibility. All the same it seems that he offered both Martín March, the civil governor, and Federico Ayala, the commander of the Carabineers, a free escort to escape from Spain by way of Portugal. Both refused the offer and were later executed.[4]

On July 22 *La Región* reappeared on the streets. Its tone was quite different to what it had been before July 19. A simple statement announced that a state of war had been declared and that all workshops were required to reopen. All who failed to report for work in, say, the offices of that paper, on the railways, in the restaurants, or in the Malingre factories would be immediately dismissed.[5]

A leading article made clear where the editor stood in the unfolding conflict: "Orensanos! The liberating movement in Spain continues victorious on every front. Serenity! Tranquillity! The conclusion of this Republican movement is to create out of this vilified Spain of the moment a greater Spain which we all desire." Thereafter *La Región* played an essential part as a communication between people and the new authorities. The paper had reports of what it called the "Soviet regime" in Madrid. On July 26 it carried the terrible headline "La España inmortal en pie de guerra" (Immortal Spain on the brink of war).

So it was that the city of Orense was won for the rebellion.

In the next fortnight, the rest of the province was similarly captured. It was not a victory without protest, for in many small towns a few men went into the streets

hoping to do something to preserve the Republican regime. But since they had few or no weapons, they were easily overpowered by small columns of soldiers, assisted by Falangista volunteers, who were sent from the barracks in the provincial capital to any apparently troublesome place. The repression was probably seen at its worst at Soulecín, near Barco de Valdeorras.[6]

The consequence was that many supporters of left-wing parties, especially Communists, fled to the mountains ("se habían echado al monte") near Orense and, in some cases, such as that of the famous "Bailarín" (Manuel Álvarez Arias) of Casayo, a Communist postman before July 1936, held out there as guerrillas for several years.[7] Others escaped via Portugal or managed to reach the Republican lines in Asturias. The guerrilla in the mountains of Orense was so serious that the military governor later insisted to the commander of the army in Corunna that he ought to return the 180 civil guards whom he had sent to him, since they were needed where they had been.[8]

Killings also continued: Camilo José Cela, in his novel *Mazurca para dos muertos,* about the war in the province of Orense, spoke of the killings of Jesús Manzanedo and Fabián Minguela ("Moucho"). The first of these, wrote Cela, killed "just by a mere liking for order and personal delight, both things. . . . There are those who get pleasure out of pleasing their finger and pulling the trigger; but Fabián Minguela kills people to please others, no one knows who."[9]

In the city of Orense there were *consejos de guerra* from July 26 onwards, usually dealing with "the crime of military rebellion," which, surrealistically, meant that the accused had refused to accept the state of war proclaimed on July 20. The best commentary on this state of affairs was given by Serrano Suñer in conversation with Heleno Saña: "I [Serrano] said to Franco 'How could we ever call them rebels? We could call them enemies, reds, anti-Spaniards, or any other thing, but how could we ever call them rebels when the ones to have rebelled are us. Our legitimacy is something else.'"[10]

Franco said, "'Yes, yes, it is very complicated . . .' But the military jurists have a very simple idea: that we already have at our disposal a series of laws that only needed to be applied in reverse by naming them rebels. Therefore, as they were rebels, it was possible to judge them under the current code of justice, and that was all. It was comfortable although from a logical point of view it is absurd."[11]

Death sentences were frequent though not inevitable. Among those who were executed in Orense in the Campo de Aragón just outside the city were the tragic ex-civil governor, Martín March;[12] the commander of the carabineers, Francisco Ayala; and the ex-mayor Manuel Suárez (who was captured after his flight).[13]

The sallies of the army into "Orense profunda" were police operations, usually attended by ruthlessness. But other expeditions also set off from Orense, with an overt military purpose, to support the army in other parts of Spain.

An unnamed journalist for *La Región* reported, "Yesterday we went . . . to say farewell to the approximately seven hundred soldiers, our Orensanos, Spaniards, wearing the national colours and medals on their lapels, they marched singing and shouting '*Viva*' for our Spain, going wherever Spain needs them . . . [at the railway station] the platform was crammed full. Our municipal music band played patriotic hymns and marching songs. The train whistled while moving in a slow and majestic manner. People burst out into enthusiastic cries, there were greetings and applauses. May God go with you, patriotic soldiers."[14]

The ineffable Falangista-Carlist Bautista Pérez de Cabo on July 30 published a speech entitled "Beware of triumphalists," which read, "The heroic times of the crusades are coming back. . . . The rebirth of our history starts today."[15]

I cite these reports because if one does not realise that this wild enthusiasm existed, that at last the long years of national decay seemed to be at an end, the civil war would be incomprehensible.

In the same spirit, Silbo Ben Amor wrote: "Emotional journey. Orensanos, the Red Berets are marching. And once more, gracefully, they will write inspiring and brilliant pages of imperishable glory about the heroic events that will remind us of past. . . . Requetés, blood and gold. Emblem of our tradition! Spirit and flesh. Youth and self denial. The laurels are exuiberant."[16]

Leaving aside the exultation of these extraordinary statements, several things need to be said. First, the old national monarchist flag, the "bicolour," of red and gold, had been generally raised over public buildings. Second, there was an astonishing increase in the numbers of the Falange. These included workers and others who before July 19 had been, or anyway had considered themselves, on the Left. Many such fair-weather rebels simply thought that in a time of conflict, some kind of political cover was desirable. A third development was an equally surprising increase in the attraction of Carlism. This movement began to be found in parts of Spain where it had never been important before. "If Carlism was a flower whose greenhouse was Navarre," wrote the Catalan author Rafael Abella, at this time summering in Corunna, "it also flourished in Andalusia, Rioja, the Basque country and Galicia."[17] The municipal band of Orense in the Alameda still, as in the past, played agreeable music such as Schubert's "Momento Musical" or the waltz from the 1920s musical *The Desert Song*, but it also now played the Carlist anthem "Oriamendi" as well as the Falangistas' "Cara al Sol."

By now in Spain there really was a civil war under way with fronts, armies ad-

vancing, aerial bombardments, real battles, and deaths in action on well-known hillsides and in valleys.

This terrible realisation was atrocious: for Orensanos, Madrid, Barcelona, and Valencia had become enemy cities, where religion had been abolished and where capitalists and churchmen were being murdered, and there were real tragedies, such as the massacres in the Model prison in Madrid, with deaths of well-known politicians and bishops, or of generals who had taken part in the rising and had been captured. These were accurately reported. Perhaps 3,500 or 4,000 were killed in Galicia in the civil war behind the lines, of whom between about 650 were killed by the rebels in Orense and most of them in 1936. The deaths in Nogueira de Ramuín, the Barreiroses' old parish, was among the lowest in the province. Five executions or shootings seem to have occurred to citizens from there.[18]

9

Red Beret

Red beret, you will be
Our mark of honour
For the truth of our holy tradition
Is now triumphant

[Boina roja, tú serás
El emblema del honor
Por que triunfe la verdad
De la santa tradición.]

—La Región, *October 30, 1936*

Among those who left on one of those early expeditions of requetés (Carlist volunteers) from Orense was the young Eduardo Barreiros. He was a volunteer aged nearly seventeen (he reached that age only in October 1936). He thought the war would be over in a month.[1] As a volunteer, he was paid three pesetas a day as opposed to the mere twenty-five céntimos paid to ordinary soldiers. He sent this sum to his parents. Before he set out, he had persuaded his father to apply for an extension of another eight miles to their licence, giving them control of a bus service from Ferreira del Pantón to the ancient city of Montforte de Lemos, one of the most beautiful places in the province of Lugo. Eduardo was already at the front when he received a letter from his father stating that this had been agreed, though it had cost 35,000 pesetas.

Eduardo's decision to volunteer is controversial. Some in the family had a surprising explanation for his joining. Thus his aunt Celsa, Luzdivina's sister, thought that he went to the war "because he wanted to get away from home. He

went to the front; in León, he was a requeté. One day, he wrote to his parents and asked for their pardon. He said that he was a patriot and that he was not afraid of risking his life for Spain."[2] His cousin Alicia, daughter of his mother's elder sister, Antonia (who helped her sister, Luzdivina, in the house in Orense), also thought that Eduardo went away to the war to escape from "the dominating influence of his family."[3]

Though easy enough to understand this action in the case of many Spanish families, it is difficult to do so in the case of Eduardo because he was already the "dominating" influence in his family, and his father usually not only accepted but expected his recommendations. Perhaps, though, the desire to escape from Orense and see other parts of Spain played some part. There are usually several motives in important decisions.

Eduardo himself recalled that in the expedition from Corunna to join the requetés, "we Orensanos numbered about one hundred," and after that, on the Madrid front near the pass called the Alto del León, "I passed ten months of continuous anxiety."[4] That is not surprising since he joined the Carlist *tercio de Abárzuza* of Navarre.[5] This was a strongly religious unit, taking its name from Abárzuza, a town near Estella whence most of those who served in the regiment came. Most of these requetés who were Eduardo's comrades had trained in military activities before July 1936. Once the war began, they had gone from Abárzuza to Alsasua, to Estella, Logroño, and eventually to Alto del León, where they arrived on July 27, 1936. They were almost without commanders except for ten priests, of whom the most notable was Father José Ulíbarri, notorious in Navarre for his public burning of the Republican flag on the balcony of the town hall of Úgar, a few miles from Abárzuza, in May 1932. Soon, however, they were joined by some officers who had retired under Azaña's law of 1932, such as Captain Santiago Alonso and Captain Martín Duque, who became the commander. They had few weapons: at the beginning, indeed, they had only ninety rifles that had been hidden for them by two brothers, Santiago and Félix Lizarraga, the previous March in the valley of Guesalaz near Lezaún, five miles north of Abárzuza.

The fighting had been fierce in the Sierra de Guadarrama since July 20, 1936, for a well-trained Republican militia had arrived at this front, led by such later important Communist commanders as Manuel Tagüeña and Juan Modesto, with some units of the well-trained Communist so-called fifth regiment. These also included some regular officers loyal to the Republic. The two villains of the night of the murder of Calvo Sotelo, Condés and Cuenca, met their richly deserved ends in the fighting here in these days also. The aim of the nationalist commanders was to prevent these troops from reaching any further into north-

ern Castile than the pass of Alto del León.[6] The requetés had already had one victory, the recapture of Hill 1127 on the Madrid side of the pass, thereafter known as "la loma del requeté" (the hill of the requeté).

From the beginning, some requetés from Galicia joined in this group of Carlists, and at the end of August, a unit from that province arrived, one hundred and fifty strong, the company "del apóstol Santiago." They had been put together in Corunna by the leading Carlist there, Pedro María Gómez Ruiz, assisted by a doctor named Quintela. Another 130 requetés from Galicia, mostly from Orense and Pontevedra, reached Alto del León in September to form the third company of the *tercio*. Probably Eduardo and his "about one hundred" Orensanos formed part of this column.

These Carlists held the pass. There was little infantry action after Eduardo joined but the Carlist positions were often bombed or bombarded. An aerial attack on September 13 was specially unpleasant, and several requetés were killed. Eduardo himself recalled, "We lived in shacks [*chabolas*] whose height inside was about sixty centimetres. They were about two metres broad by six long. The roofs were made of pine logs on which four metres of earth had been deposited. . . . I saw many dying there, with great sadness and fear."[7]

Eventually, in the summer of 1937, Eduardo received permission to be fifteen days away from his unit. He went home to Orense. He found that the military authorities had just requisitioned the family's Dodge bus to take troops from Corunna to Oviedo, which was still being besieged closely by the Republicans. The plan was also to bring back wounded men from Asturias to Galicia. The bad-tempered chauffeur Arturo from Los Peares was preparing for this important service to the nationalist cause. Eduardo insisted to his father that it would be a serious error to let Arturo go to Oviedo since he was the only reliable driver they had. He volunteered himself to undertake the drive to Asturias with the Dodge. This was agreed with the local military authorities, and Eduardo never went back to Alto del León. Nor, so far as can be seen both from the papers remaining in his family or from memories, did he have anything further to do with Carlists or Carlism. He once later implied to his daughter that he regretted going to the front as a volunteer. Had he not done that, he might not have found himself among the Carlists. He never talked much later of this period in his life. He was not happy, obviously, in his *chabola:* who could be? But an unanswered question is, was Carlism also a disillusion for him?

Before Eduardo set off on his dangerous drive to the capital of Asturias, he would have had time to see how Orense had changed since the beginning of the war.[8]

First, the raised arm salute and extended open hand to form an angle of 45 de-

grees with the body had become the *saludo nacional*. Then the old national anthem, the Marcha Real, had been restored (in March 1937). Important too was the effort made by the military authorities to incorporate in their endeavours those well-wishers who were too old, or too busy in essential work, to be called to go to the front either as conscripts or as volunteers.

The most obvious manifestation of this in Orense as in other cities of Galicia were the "Caballeros de Santiago," who organised a *rota* of guards for different places of importance, the prison, the seminary, the barracks, the railway station, on trains, for example. Eduardo senior joined the *caballeros* in October 1936 and remained with them until the end of the civil war, by which time the caballeros had changed their name to "militiamen of the FET and of the JONS" (in July 1937). Everyone then became a "Falangista tradicionalista." Eduardo senior was rather an irregular caballero and militiaman but he was listed in January 1937 as belonging to the thirty-fourth squadron of that body.[9] Thereafter, he seems to have taken part once every month or so, dressed in uniform with a large red cross, for twelve hours overnight starting at 8:30 P.M. at one of the alleged points of danger. The caballeros were asked not only to mount guard regularly but to organise "*propaganda patriótica hablada*" in cafés.[10]

Another such voluntary organisation was Auxilio Social, organised on the model of a similar organisation in Nazi Germany. Here women, usually of the middle class, who wanted to do something for the cause would enrol themselves for patriotic purposes, above all assisting the poor in the rearguard. (By October 1939 they were said to be helping more than one million people a day.) Had this preoccupation with the health of poor people existed a generation before 1936 the civil war would have been inconceivable.

The institution pointed to another change: an increase in the public role of women. The readers of papers would often observe reports of the visits and benign activities of Franco's wife and sister, Carmen Polo and Pilar Franco, as well as the sister of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, "*el ausente*" (the absent one), who had been by now executed by the Republicans in Alicante. A local heroine in Orense was Ángela Varela, the Marquesa de Atalaya Bermeja, who had founded the hospital of Santo Ángel and was president of the *junta de socorro de mujeres* (organization for help to women). She had been a friend and patron of the poet Rey Soto and a *salonniére* in whose ample library in the Calle Santo Domingo intellectuals such as Risco and Otero would often have been found.

The feminine section of the Falange after the merger with the Carlists and other political parties in April 1937 was also active.

Luzdivina Barreiros took no part, so far as we can see, in these undertakings, presumably because she was concerned with four children apart from Eduardo,

the youngest, Celso, being still a baby; but as a strong woman, seen by her friends as "the motor" of the family, she would have seen the opportunities ahead.

Women were encouraged by such slogans as "Every tip of your dedicated knitting needles, women of Spain, is a victory against the cold weather that affects the Spaniards fighting in the front." Women were no doubt also stimulated by references to "the maternal and imperial example of Queen Isabel and fervour of Saint Teresa de Ávila." They were also encouraged to go to the local wounded People's Home (*Hogar del Herido*). Carlist Margaritas sewed clothes for soldiers, posters talked of the battle against frivolity: "While our soldiers offer their lives to God and to our Nation on the battlefields, you, woman of Spain, are giving yourself over to enjoyment, flirtatious activity, corrupting of traditions."[11]

There was also a cult of youth: Francisco de Cossío wrote in *El Norte de Castilla* an article entitled "Paso a la juventud" (Give way to youth) in which he envisaged all Spain reconquered by "combattant youth." Enrique Mariñas of Radio Coruña proclaimed: "Youth for Spain and all Spain for youth." In the first days of August 1936, there was the news of the death of a Falangista aged only fourteen, Luis Herranz.[12]

A further change was the constant involvement of military and political leaders in religious and ceremonial activities. In March 1937, the encyclical *Divini Redemptoris* dedicated a chapter to the horror of Communism in Spain. The word *cruzade* had already been used in relation to the war: for, on September 30, Dr. Plá y Daniel, the bishop of Ávila and Salamanca, had issued a pastoral entitled "The Two Cities." In this, he had said that the "communists and anarchists are children of Cain, the fratricides of their brothers, envious of those who make a cult of virtue. . . . On the outside it takes the appearance of a civil war but, in truth, it is a crusade."[13] That word was soon widely employed by laymen too.

As early as August 30, 1936, the bishop of Orense, Dr. Florentino Cerviño (originator of the restoration of the Cistercian monastery of Oseira), blessed the crucifix in the cathedral, with members of the JAP, the Falange, and the Carlists present. In a subsequent sermon, the bishop blamed the Republic for all the outrages (*desmanes*) of the last few years. The ceremony was followed by a procession to the Escuela Normal, where the Galleguista and new Falangista, the brilliant writer Vicente Risco, received the figure of Christ from the hands of a lieutenant-colonel of the Civil Guard and made a speech defending the doctrine of Christ against anti-Christ.[14]

Risco would be attacked as a turncoat by old friends, such as the Gallego novelist Alfonso Rodríguez Castelao, who had escaped to exile, and with whom years ago he had celebrated a brilliant performance in 1912 of the folkloric group

Aires da terra.[15] Indeed, how could he have accepted a government that suppressed all *revistas culturales* that were not associated with "the Movement" and that executed his friend and a contributor to *Nós*, Arturo Noguerol Buxán, and the nationalist Bóveda, not to speak of the director of *Nós*, Anxel Casal?[16] Yet intellectuals who were Catholic liberals had to make adjustments to survive. But it is fair to say that Risco had always disliked Marxism, which in *Nós* in 1933 he had described as the most gloomy of doctrines.[17] He, like Otero Pedrayo, also hated the Republic's anticlericalism.[18]

Another activity that continued throughout the war was a campaign for gifts of money, jewels, or other objects for the cause. Lists of donors were published in the press: for example, a very well known local magistrate, Luis Gil Mejuto, sent a golden chain; another anonymously sent a pearl necklace. Eduardo *padre* sent a small sum of money to help to build an aeroplane to be called "Orense." There were sometimes threatening demands that people should assist. Thus, on August 31, 1936, in *La Región* these words appeared: "CATHOLIC LADY OF SPAIN, THE RECONQUEST OF YOUR MOST VALUABLE POSSESSIONS, the strongest bastions of a Christian society, family and religion, which lay battered, and the defence of the faith taken up by the movement of national salvation, do they not deserve the miserable sacrifice which is to give away your material ornaments, for the good of the nation and that of civilisation?"

Months later, a more menacing note appeared: "Spaniard! Don't shake the hand of a man or woman who, after ten months of war, still wears the golden ring which the country has requested. That individual is not a true Spaniard."[19]

Every day in the press there were lists of donations: "one golden ring, one necklace, two rings and one earring, one bracelet." We see too the names of people who gave gloves, jerseys, shirts, handkerchiefs, blankets, socks, shoes . . . also lottery tickets, bacon/salted pork, ham, sausages, tie pins, rings, rosaries, gold watches, lace, earrings, precious stones, wedding rings, marmalade, *anís*, brandy, chartreuse, *aguardiente*, *licorcafé*, mattresses, sheets, beds, pillowcases, covers, underwear, bedspreads, even balaclavas. In the winters, blankets dominated the lists. "The donations were over all on a remarkable scale," wrote an English businessman, David Eccles, at the end of the war (speaking of Spain in general), who added that "the sums given by individuals amounted to a self-imposed capital levy."[20]

The readers of the local press would have read terrible stories of events in the Republican zone: some true, such as that 102 priests had been murdered in Asturias during the "red control" there;[21] many false, such as the story that the playwright Benavente had been murdered or that the French Communist André

Marty had had 2,300 anarchists executed in Madrid. The press always talked of "the red criminality" and how "Marxist impotence is characterised by cowardly aggressions." In Orense, one would have gained the impression that "the Spanish revolution" was "more terrible and cruel" than the Russian one.[22]

The tone of nationalist Spain was given by the feline broadcasts of General Queipo de Llano in Seville. These began in July 1936 and continued almost daily until January 1938, when General Franco founded his first government from which Queipo was excluded. Most of these tirades were published in papers of the nationalist zone, including *La Región* of Orense. An early such speech read: "Radio Madrid continues with the pretense that, soon, Córdoba will be occupied by them. This is a bore. . . . For fifteen days now they have been announcing the same lie, if only because they lack the courage to face many brave people."[23]

The coverage in the nationalist press of what was happening in different parts of their own zone was at first not completely bland. Thus readers of *La Región* would have learned how, on one troop train leaving Corunna, presumably for Asturias, a soldier was heard making "subversive cries" and seen shaking a clenched fist. He was taken off the train at Betanzos and shot there and then on the platform.[24] People would hear how Pérez Carballo, the Republican civil governor of Pontevedra, met his death with great Christian spirit (the readers were not told how his pregnant wife was also killed) and how the admiral in Corunna, Admiral Azarola, who had been loyal to the Republic, had died kissing a cross several times. Throughout the war one could have seen such statements as "Yesterday, Thursday, at 10 in the morning, in the hall of the Instituto, court martial proceedings were begun against Severino Novoa and three others, for whom the prosecuting side requested three death penalties and fifteen years' imprisonment."[25] If the "rebel" died in a Christian manner ("wearing a rosary"), so much the better, of course. The news that the large Benedictine monastery of Celanova had been turned into a prison was made public and later also that some of those imprisoned there were given a choice to remain where they were or join the army.[26]

Franco was mentioned almost every day in the papers after his nomination as head of state in September 1936. He was the new hero, supposedly creating "una España, una España Grande, España Libre" (a unified Spain, a great Spain, a free Spain). Eduardo would presumably have been insulated a little from this cult of Franco when at the front, but in the rearguard there was no escaping the homages to Franco, the busts and portraits of him, and the frequent citations from his speeches. In September 1937, a whole page in *La Región* greeted the

shops of Orense that "salute the Caudillo." His phrases were quoted as if they were declarations of a saint. The commemoration of Franco's first year in power was marked as if it had been the anniversary of the birth of a great monarch, and by such declarations as "Franco's heart is for the people" and "the people's heart is for Franco."[27]

Nationalist propagandists were insisting that the new regime was very definitely not planning a mere simple return to the past. There were frequent declarations to this effect: for example "CAPITALIST! Spain's national movement of salvation makes it possible for you now to continue enjoying your income. If you doubt for a moment about offering your moral and material support to that movement with largess and generosity, you will not only be a bad patriot but also be unworthy of living in the strong Spain that is being born."[28]

Then, on another occasion, we read: "Towards a new Spain: capitalist, think!" The article continued in a most radical way, "Let us repudiate the capitalist system which ignores the needs of the people."[29]

From now on one was supposed to say in greeting not, "May the Lord keep you for many years," but "Long life to the Lord, to Spain and its national syndicalist revolution." The Falange announced, "The Falange declares that its struggle is not against revolution but for a national syndicalist revolution. Spain is the property of those who win by shedding their own blood. That is, national syndicalist young men. . . . The old, those who do not carry any arms, are a mere zoological curiosity."[30]

Later generations, who hate Fascism and Nazism because of their crimes in the course of the second world war, may mock these declarations, but in the late 1930s, the young men of the Falange envisaged a genuine transformation of this kind: a revolution, but it had to be a national one, not an international one. It had also to be Catholic, not Communist. These were interesting demands that should not be laughed at because they were later abandoned. Franco supported this line: he announced, "Employment will have an absolute guarantee, avoiding any subjection to the laws of capitalism."[31]

Eduardo on his return from the front would have seen how Fascist salutes were demanded of all employed in public services, that there was constant singing of "*Cara al sol*," and that there were innumerable displays of flags, high-pitched imperial speeches, martial blue shirts. One Republican historian recalls that Orense became "a city where all elements of monarcho-reactionary tendencies, Republicans or Galician nationalists, go out to the public exhibition which are the streets, the papers and the radio . . . making ecstatic hymns to the New State, kissing smeared crucifixes—the same they had repudiated before—and

justifying such unprecedented and frantic savagery because they are desirous of sorrow, vexation and blood." [32]

It does not seem as if any member of the Barreiros family was in any way associated with the Left, though a Remigio Otero Barreiros from the village of San Miguel do Campo was condemned to death for rebellion in Oviedo in 1938—but there is no indication that he was closely related.[33]

10

This Cruel Struggle

Remember, O Lord, that you promised
To reign in our nation.
Do not leave us, Lord, to lie abandoned
In a cruel struggle which
Embitters us.

—La Región, *October 25, 1936*

After a week or two in Orense, Eduardo embarked on the second stage of his service in the civil war, which implied drives from Corunna to Oviedo. He was the youngest chauffeur in a group of convoys of a hundred buses—being only eighteen in October 1937—but he was, in his own opinion at least, "the best driver and the best mechanic." His challenge was to drive from Corunna along the coast to Ribadeo, to continue by the sea in Asturias as far as Luarca, and then to turn south and inland to approach Oviedo from the west, through Grado—"the Grado passage," as it was called, since the Republican siege of Oviedo left only a small outlet, one main road essentially, for supplies and services through that town.

Grado had been an elegant town in the past, though it had experienced some wild moments in both 1934 and 1936. *La Región* told its readers that now, in 1937, when Eduardo had to drive through it, "it was little more than a barracks, most of its surviving residences, some of them elegant summer villas, being occupied by troops. The Marxist fury," *La Región* reported, "had [however] levelled much of the lovely city and there were a multitude of houses which had been burned down."[1]

Grado, Eduardo recalled, was the worst point in the journey to Oviedo because he had to drive more or less in the front line without lights, keeping a dis-

tance of about twenty to thirty yards between each vehicle. He did this for two months. "I well remember," he said, "that, on one of these dramatic journeys, I saw a bus blown up in the centre of our convoy. We all had to stop and help, pulling out the soldiers who had not died in the explosion."[2]

When he returned to Corunna after one of these journeys, Eduardo found that his class of 1940 (his "*quinta*" for the purposes of conscription) was being called up and he accordingly detached himself from the convoy system to Asturias, which anyway would soon come to an end because the national armies gained there a complete victory, coming in from the east (on October 21, 1937). He returned to Orense with his Ford bus in good condition, despite the months of hard driving to Asturias from Corunna. After a few days, he returned to the latter city and incorporated himself in the Parque Móvil de la Coruña. There soon arrived there a number of other good Ford lorries equipped with light (700 pound) antitank cannons.[3] Eduardo was immediately ordered to join a new twentieth antitank battery. "Its emblem was a skull," he recalled, "to remind us that our mechanized work, being at the front, would be very risky."[4] Eduardo was allocated one of these vehicles.

These lorries had to be capable of high speeds because the drivers had to extricate themselves quickly from the front when tank advances were under way. He recalled: "This kind of mission was risky because these cannons had to be placed in the very first line and the lorry towing the weapon had to remain next to it as it had to be frequently moved to hide it from aviation and artillery. . . . The projectiles were 35 mm but very precise, infallible and effective at a distance of one kilometre. When fired, these projectiles had some sort of fuse at the back, they could go through the front of a tank and explode inside, killing, of course, all its crew. Each unit had a sergeant, a corporal and five gunners, and a driver to tow the piece. If the antitank gun was unable to make a hit at first, one had to expect a shower of fire coming from the tank, which would be carrying a cannon of 100 mm. Very rapid. That's why the towing lorries had so many holes in them, inflicted by the tanks. But it was said that the tank crews had a real fear of these small artillery units."[5]

After some weeks of training in Corunna, Eduardo's battery was despatched to Navalvillar de Pela and Casas de Don Pedro in Extremadura. These modest towns on the road from Mérida to Ciudad Real were no doubt even more bleak then than they are now, for in recent years they have benefited from the agricultural schemes for development associated with the "Plan Badajoz." Wheat, maize, rice, barley, and tomatoes grow now in fields where there were once bushes of broom and a few holm oak trees. Eduardo would always remember the enemy gunfire there coming from the south. "I remember how one of the pieces

burnt seven tanks, the sergeant and three gunners were also killed in that place and the corporal was made a hero, he received a military medal and two months' leave. He was from the Canaries."[6]

Eduardo seems to have arrived on this dry and sun-baked *extremeño* front in late April 1938 and he then spent several inactive months there. But then came the summer. Eduardo's own words should be quoted: "That plain in the middle of the summer, with grass over a metre high, was a real inferno, to the point that, when we came across a pond or even a puddle (which was very rare) usually of between four and ten yards in diameter, of concave shape, and two feet deep, we plunged in as if it were our only salvation, not only to bathe but also to drink from it. In those puddles, there were a considerable number of tiny snakes, their heads sticking out of the water, and they would immediately dive under as a result of our coming. All this was happening while bullets were whistling by and people were being killed. But . . . next to these puddles, or wells, which were so rare, soldiers on stretchers would be brought in large numbers, some wounded, others dead, their faces marked with self-inflicted scratches, as a result of having died of heat or thirst. In some cases, mouth-to-mouth resuscitation consisted in throwing water on all the bodies. In some cases, those boys came back to life. These were the scenes which most impressed me in the war."[7] In Extremadura Eduardo acted as a driver of lorries hauling artillery. He was known there apparently as "the driver of emotions" for his bravery in driving in these circumstances.

His battery was at this time attached to the seventy-fourth division, commanded by Colonel Antonio Villalba Rubio, whom Eduardo thought "one of the most humane persons I have known." Eduardo once had a brush with him on the road, overtaking his car when he should not have. The colonel got out, pistol in hand, and said, "You knew that I was overtaking you but intentionally you nearly killed me." Eduardo apologised and said: "I assure you that I did not know that you were coming up behind." Villalba said, "Don't lie or I'll kill you. The sergeant with the artillery piece on the lorry warned you about it." Eduardo replied: "No one told me anything."[8] The colonel then raised his pistol in the direction of the sergeant.

The plan of the nationalist army in Extremadura was to seek to reduce what was known as the "bulge of Mérida" (*la bolsa de Mérida*), so shortening the front by about 60 miles, capturing a zone of over 2,000 square miles of agricultural land, and also freeing the railway from Almorchón to Villanueva de la Serena, so doubling the possible rail traffic from Andalusia to Mérida. Villalba wanted to break through the Republican lines at Madrigalejo, a small town known in Spanish history as the place where, improbably, the great king, Fernando the

Catholic, died. Franco gave orders: "At the same time other forces leaving from the zone to the south of Logrosán will advance towards Navalvillar de Pela, to surround the massif of Las Orellanas [Orellana la Vieja and Orellana de la Sierra] from the East and taking it."[9] This was what happened.

On July 20, Colonel Martínez Bande, the best military historian of the war, wrote, "A column of forces from the 74th division . . . spectacularly broke up the enemy's front opposite the so-called Casa de la Rana, east of Madrigalejo, and occupied the Gorbea heights next to the river Cubilar which was crossed in the evening, arriving at the river Gargáligas, whence they had to retire when the enemy started a fire in the brush between the two rivers."[10]

On July 21, the seventy-fourth division, driving south on a broad front, crossed the rivers Cubilar and Gargáligas, gaining soon the heights of the Sierra de Pela on the other side. On July 24, this unit was established three miles east of the tiny town of Acedera. Again, Martínez Bande wrote, "From there, they set off without encountering any opposition, to cross the [river] Guadiana at its ford and boat passage situated slightly to the south-west side of that point and, later, the [river] Zújar, occupying, first of all, the Jalias heights and then the villages of Magacela and La Coronada, while other forces reached the hills to the east of Villanueva de la Serena which they manage to control."[11] Eventually these forces, those from the north and those from the south, met at Campanario: the campaign was complete.

This zone is that of conquistadors: men from Villanueva were with Hernán Cortés, who himself derived from Medellín nearby, while from Orellana la Vieja came the great adventurer of that name, Cortés's distant cousin, who was the first European to sail down the Amazon River.

Among the booty abandoned by the Republicans in some of these battles were many Russian lorries ZIS (3HC), which would in a few years be playing a major part in the life of Eduardo. Perhaps he saw one or two of them now. They also left behind the memory of numerous pointless murders of innocent men and even women, as a monument on the church at Orellana still recalls.

In their defeat, also, the retreating Republicans committed all manner of atrocities; for example, forcing many civilians of the Cortesian pueblo of San Benito to march for hours without food or water in great heat and shooting many without trial or cause. At least twenty-nine died thus, including six women. Other such murders occurred at Carrascalejo de la Jara, a town that the Republicans briefly captured in April.[12] It seems certain that Eduardo, as a combatant in the victorious army, would have come to know of these atrocities, though he never spoke of them.

A postwar mayor of San Miguel do Campo, Rogelio, said once: "I was with

[Eduardo] during the war. Yes sir, a brave and resolute man. He never wanted to be inactive. He was specially drawn to fighting zones."[13]

Soon afterwards, the Extremadura front was "stabilised," as they say in military communiqués, and in early October 1938, Eduardo was sent with his battery to the northeast of Madrid, to Sigüenza, apparently because of a setback that had befallen the Italians there. His battery was attached to the eighth automobile group. But when the battery reached there, the front had been recovered. Eduardo and his unit were then despatched to Toledo, where they were at the end of the war.

At some stage in these months Eduardo contracted typhus, probably deriving from his exposure in the puddles in which he had swum and from which he had so unwisely drunk.[14]

Two months after the end of the war—in May 1939—a decree was issued saying that anyone who had served three years could "be discharged." Eduardo immediately presented his papers to the civil government of Valladolid and, in two hours, he had his licence in his hands: "one of the happiest moments of my life," he later wrote.[15] He later commented that he had found "life in the military unbearable."[16] Of this moment, he added: "Everyone desired the end of the war, but I think I more than anyone because I wanted intensely to work."[17] His plan, long meditated upon while at the front, was to establish a mechanical workshop.[18]

His sister María Luz (Luchi) had, as one of her first memories, the fiesta given by the family in Cardenal Quevedo Street when Eduardo returned from the war. Celso, Eduardo's youngest brother, then aged four, jumped downstairs into his arms from the landing of the house: for Celso, the occasion marked the return of a hero whom he did not previously remember.[19] He was one of about 240,000 Gallegos who returned from the war—Galicia had provided the victors with about a quarter of their army.[20]

The Barreiros family had not lived badly since 1936. Galicia had been fortunate. There one could survive because of local products. In Burgos one could see advertisements announcing. "Those of you who have fled the red zone and can't find accommodation in the towns of the centre, will find affordable and comfortable hotels, houses, and flats in Galicia."[21]

The Barreiroses had also experienced the exhilaration of victory. For example, on January 27 a meeting was held in Orense's plaza central to celebrate the fall of Barcelona. The local military and civil governors, Pedro Torrado Atocha and Enrique Rodríguez Lafuente (both new), made speeches, and the crowds shouted, "Franco, Franco, Franco!" and "Arriba España, long live the valiant ones!" Bishop Cerviño declared, "The blood of our martyrs has not been shed in vain."

There was a Te Deum and a *salve:* "Through Empire to the Lord," and "For the Lord, for Spain, and for its national-syndicalist revolution."[22]

On March 27, just before the fiesta of San Lázaro, there was a mass in the chapel of the Carmelites in Orense "on the occasion of the presentation of badges by new senior and junior members of Juventud Femenina." There followed a sermon by Don Fernando Quiroga, a clever young priest from Maceda who one day would be an archbishop and a cardinal. The *himno nacional* was sung, "with the right arm raised in the new salute."[23]

Next day, there was the procession of Ecce Homo leaving the church of the Franciscan fathers and following its traditional *itinerario:* "In spite of the nuisance caused by the rain, numerous people took part . . . constituting an endless march of parishioners led by the image of the Dolorosa, and carried on the shoulders of comrades from the Spanish Union of Students, as well as that of the Ecce Homo carried by members of the second line militia."[24] Perhaps these included Eduardo senior, who still belonged to this last-named gathering.

For one so young—he was still under twenty in May 1939—Eduardo had had a most interesting war. There had been the bleak fighting in the ranks of the requetés in the Sierra of Guadarrama, with the harsh bombardments; there had been dangerous "Grado passage" on the way to Oviedo; and there had been the summer fighting in Extremadura. Yet Eduardo's private commentaries later about the civil war were few and far between. His daughter, Mariluz, remembers him saying that the civil war had been terrible: "I have seen many comrades die, especially in the Extremadura front."[25] His sister-in-law Marta Cotoner recalled that "he never talked of the war."[26] The same was said by colleagues in his business, such as Fernández Quintas and Santiago Fernández Baquero, who said, rather interestingly, that Eduardo "didn't like to talk of disagreeable things."[27]

These reactions were frequent, and are so in all wars, international as well as civil: Rafael Abella Bermejo wisely commented: "Life at the front left a deep mark, it moulded personalities, it produced habits, not all commendable, and initiated customs, not all impeccable."[28]

Book III

Peace

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11

Establishing a National Syndicalist System

We believed that we could establish a national syndicalist system.
[Nosotros creíamos en la posibilidad futura de implantar un sistema nacional-sindicalista.]

—José Luis Mariño, a Falangista of Corunna

On his return in the early summer of 1939 from the civil war, with its terrors and exaltations, Eduardo immediately set about the founding of his long-desired workshop whose purpose would be to mend and assemble motors. He had reflected on this in the heat of summer nights in Extremadura as during the cold winters of the Guadarrama. He soon established this new undertaking in no. 56 Avenida de Buenos Aires, a broad street to the east of Orense, not far from that house "behind the hospital" where the Barreiroses had lived when they first came to the city in 1928. There were bigger workshops in Orense at that time but Eduardo was determined that his would be the best. He equipped the place with modern tools and machines, being lent money to buy these by a family friend, Higinio Losada, who from the beginning believed in Eduardo's star, and who never charged interest on the often substantial loans that he made to him—which varied between 50,000 and 200,000 pesetas.[1]

Eduardo also arranged to employ his own old maestro, Manuel ("Manolo") Cid, for whom he had worked before the war in José Arce's workshop as an apprentice. As earlier noted, Eduardo would always say that Cid was the best mechanic whom he had ever known.[2] It is obvious that an affinity existed between the two men and it did not matter that now Cid worked for Eduardo instead of the reverse. In the afternoons Eduardo was also to be found on the Empresa Barreiros's buses as before the war, acting as inspector and sometimes as driver. Ed-

uardo senior had recently secured a new route, between Orense and Parada del Sil, as well as the old one from Orense to Monforte.

The activities of Eduardo, as manager of a workshop and as inspector on the bus line, were not separate from each other. For example, in order to serve this new line, Eduardo and Cid made a new bus out of disparate parts. They first bought a sixteen-horsepower 1925 Chevrolet of four cylinders from a Señor Avanellas. This, Eduardo later reported, seemed more an open carriage than a bus. They also bought from different scrap merchants an old Citroën chassis, a radiator, a body, a motor "en desuso," a differential, and a gearbox. With these objects, he and Cid created what seemed a new bus that was put to good service by the Empresa Barreiros on the winding road to Parada del Sil.[3]

A little later Eduardo bought a ramshackle Ford lorry from a Señor Dacón, another Orensano spare parts salesman. In their workshop, they enlarged the chassis and soon made it into a second new bus. They added these vehicles to the old Renault, which had survived the war, so the Barreiroses now had three buses in service. They ran every day except Sundays. The Barreiroses continued to supplement the income made from fares by carrying food in from the country, and now they also carried the post to outlying villages.

There were, however, several difficulties. First was the shortage of petrol. Arrangements made by General Franco's office in Salamanca at the beginning of the civil war with the Texas Oil Company remained. But Spain now found it hard to pay for this petrol for two reasons: first, they had to import wheat; and, second, Spain's own exports were still modest, being in 1939 almost confined to oranges, grapes, and later wolfram (from Lugo). The result was that petrol was severely rationed from the spring of 1940.[4]

The consequence was a device for creating energy for vehicles known as *gasógeno*. This was promoted by the government for the use of combustible gas such as had been used in the 1930s by the Italians in their war against Ethiopia. It was a boiler attached to the back of motor vehicles and in which many materials, from almond shells to holm oak, could be burned, producing a hydrocarbon mixture.[5]

Half the vehicles of Spain used gasógeno in the early 1940s. Even taxis circulated with them in the back of their vehicles. This seemed a national solution and so became dear to those senior Falangists in the regime seeking an autarchic solution to all problems.

Though gasógeno was a simple procedure, it required much application of physical strength. On the Barreiros buses, Eduardo and his fellow driver, Arturo, had to fill their engine with coal, so they always had to have sacks of that precious

substance with them. Then, when they had finished their journey, they had to clean the filtres and remove the dirt from the generator.[6]

Gasógeno was a subject for jokes and even songs. Thus

> To move a car
> You need coal,
> like a chop-house
> For it has an oven
> Which needs to be swept
> And it stinks.[7]

Even if a gasógeno could be made to work, an equally difficult matter in the 1940s was to find a car in which to put it. One of the cleverest of Franco's ministers, Manuel Arburúa, undersecretary of commerce during the second world war (later minister of commerce in the 1950s), was charged to give licences for those who sought to import or buy a suitable car. But most had to anticipate joining a waiting list for two or three years.

In those days, the progressive writer Juan Luis Cebrián later recalled, cars were not really bought, they were "conceded," a privilege granted by the authorities. A car was the symbol of success and was seen by those who had them as a bounty from heaven.[8]

Another difficulty for Eduardo in the 1940s was that the road to Parada del Sil, although it ran along the most beautiful gorge in Spain, was then atrocious. The Barreiros buses suffered frequent breakdowns. Thus Eduardo would often spend his mornings repairing the vehicles in order to have them ready for their departure in the afternoon at four o'clock. He developed the habit of leaving the route to Monforte to his father, or perhaps Arturo, taking himself the more difficult road to Parada del Sil, remaining at Parada overnight in a lodging house, and returning with the bus next day, leaving at 7 A.M. to reach Orense at 9 o'clock or 9:30, if there were no serious breakdowns.

Then he would go to his workshop. Luzdivina would probably bring him both breakfast and lunch. She would bring a small lunch tray, saying, "Lunch must be now cold, Eduardito," and Eduardo would reply, "No not at all, Mama, it's delicious."[9]

Eduardo would always remember the glacial cold in winter and the cloudbursts, as well as the hard work of lifting luggage up and down from the roof of the bus. He soon began to wonder whether this work was the best way to live, much less the ideal way to make the fortune that was already one of his goals. True, by 1943, when Eduardo would be twenty-four, four years after the end of

the war, the empresa had four buses, all of them reconstructed in the workshop by Eduardo. But takings were still not much more than 25,000 pesetas a month.

Eduardo was by then varying the thrust of his activity. Not only was he buying old cars and lorries from scrap merchants, as well as parts of buses, for the benefit of the Empresa Barreiros, but he would sell the products that he had made. For example, in 1940, Eduardo bought a prewar Hispano Suiza in Cortegada, about twenty miles down the Miño, almost in Portugal. At the same time, he bought an open 1930 Peugeot. The two together cost 40,000 pesetas, a sum lent him by Manuel Rodríguez, his clever uncle, Luzdivina's brother, the trader in many goods who long ago had broken away from village life in Gundiás.

With these new purchases, Eduardo and Manolo Cid carried through a fascinating series of operations. The Hispano had six large wheels. They put these on a bus that they already had, an OR-1513.[10] Out of what remained of the two new vehicles, Eduardo and the workshop made a splendid lorry of seven tons that, once a front axle from a Dodge had been added, as well as a differential from an old Krupp left behind by the Germans after the civil war, could be sold for 150,000 pesetas.[11]

Eduardo used part of the money that he had made to pay back his uncle Manolo. But he also used a portion of it to assist his brothers' studies. To help them enjoy an education superior to his own was a real preoccupation of his. Eduardo senior had not had the resources to assist his children beyond school, where indeed he was still paying the fees of Mary and Luchi as day girls at the Carmelites in Orense. But Valeriano was at that time beginning a course in business studies and Graciliano was beginning to study engineering at the Academia Peñalver in Madrid. The third brother, Celso, still under ten years old, was a boarder at a famous Jesuit school in Vigo. All these fees were paid by Eduardo.[12]

Valeriano went with Graciliano in 1946 to install him in Madrid at the Hotel Orense, where he would stay while he did his course.

Eduardo was now the leader of the family. A list of accounts shows how he disbursed regular sums both to his father and to Valeriano. We find him giving 1,500 pesetas for Eduardo *padre* in October 1943, then 1,450 to Valeriano, then 11,000 to his uncle Manolo and 13,500 to himself for a journey to Vigo to buy tyres; even 200 to "*Mamá.*"[13]

For several more years, Eduardo continued with this schedule of working in the mornings at the workshop and driving buses in the afternoons. A letter of 1941 to his uncle, Manolo Rodríguez, gives a vivid impression of his life at that time: Eduardo wrote, "To-day, Valeriano will come to bring you a wheel, some tyres for the lorry and also to ask for something, although it does not please me at all to do so, for you have already given us too much. Before the start of next month, I

must find seven tyres, at a total cost of 8,900 pesetas, and to be able to survive I need another 5,000 pesetas before that date. At the beginning of the month, I shall settle my accounts and pay you back."[14]

It will be seen that he was once again thinking of a loan from "Mariposa."

The first negotiation of buying and selling that Eduardo specifically undertook seems to be that of a motorbicycle that he bought for a mere 600 pesetas and that afterwards sold well, remade, to his cousin, also on his mother's side, Celso Barreiros, a jeweller of Corunna (he was the son of an elder half-sister of Luzdivina, Josefa, who had married José Barreiros of San Miguel del Campo).[15]

Another early transaction of this kind related to a 1930 Mercedes, bought from a certain Señor Cabo, who also had a small mechanical workshop in Orense. Eduardo took it to pieces and sold all the parts separately, beginning with the differential, though he kept the motor, which he put into a lorry with a new chassis. He gave this vehicle a gasógeno that he himself assembled. A few days later he sold this for 80,000, bought a 1930 Chevrolet, and made, he calculated, another 70,000 pesetas from the transaction.[16]

Eduardo soon went to Madrid, in theory to see Graciliano, but he also visited a shop of spare parts owned by a Señor Sayalero in the Rastro. There he bought motors, gear boxes, half-used wheels, differentials, and other useful things. He sent these back to Orense in one of those lorries that in those days were always arriving in Madrid from Vigo full of fish and whose drivers were always looking for things to take on the return journey.[17]

With these new possessions, Eduardo began to build two new buses, one with a Reo as motor, the other with a large Ford chassis. Eduardo set about building a large bus based on the Ford with forty seats inside, fifteen on top. He found a body, painted it, and in two months, this began to see service. The Reo began to be used in a revised form four months later, drawing attention to itself in the country because of its beauty. It had a strong engine and the curves in the roads presented no obstacle to it.

At that time the Empresa Barreiros still had their old chauffeur, Arturo, who remained good as driver, but he had a bad temper, and Eduardo and he were never on good terms. He drove one bus and Eduardo the other, almost always the Reo.

The daily bus journeys into the country to Monforte or Parada del Sil were an extension of Eduardo's education. Of course he would have known the first of these places before the civil war, but the second was new territory. It is a remote place looking across the gorge of the Sil, with mountains to the south. Its hundred or so adult inhabitants were nearly all agriculturalists. It is only about ten

miles as the crow flies from Eduardo's birthplace at Gundiás, but it is far wilder and enjoys a less benign climate.

Constant journeys to these towns and the villages on the way to them brought Eduardo into contact with the nature of rural Spain. He would have realised the significance of the government's demands for more productivity and to "take prosperity to the furthest corner of the country."[18] He would have been taken in by the government's Patrimonio Forestal (Law of Forests) of March 1941 that enabled municipalities to take over hillsides and convert to woodland what had previously been concerned with small-scale agriculture. He could also have observed the lack of tractors. He might have found in some places a severe shortage of bread—such as occurred in May 1946 in Savina, a village of Lugo where the wives of the place rioted and sent a telegram to General Franco asking him to intervene personally.[19] But Eduardo probably would have agreed with José Luis Mariño, a vice president of the Diputación from Corunna, who had been one of the founders of the Falange there, who recalled years later: "I, anyway, never saw in Galicia in those days anyone dying of hunger. There wasn't . . . an abundance of oil, condensed milk, sugar, and coffee, but physical hunger as such, I repeat, I never saw. True there was . . . a black market and many, thanks to it, made a fortune."[20]

In other parts of Spain, the British consul Hillgarth, in Mallorca, may have been correct to report that "a quarter of the population of Spain was practically starving."[21] But that was not so in Orense, as Eduardo's sister Luchi remembered years later. The octopus of Carballino was as tasty as ever, as was the bread of Cea.

Orense had not suffered the physical damage that the civil war had brought to much of the rest of the country. Perhaps 8 percent of the housing of Spain had been lost (Madrid was especially hard hit). In Orense there had been no such losses. The labour force of Spain had declined more than 20 percent in comparison with 1936, industrial production was 30 percent less than in 1936, and 30 percent of shipping had been lost. But only the last statistic was relevant to Orense, and that was indirect and less pronounced than, say, in Vigo or Corunna. Serious shortages of electricity and steel were not greatly noticed in Orense. Inadequate private investment? Lack of foreign exchange to buy necessary goods? These things were largely concealed from Orensanos.

There was also lacking in Orense and indeed in Galicia as a whole the mood of revenge that marked such places as Barcelona and Madrid, which had been for so long occupied by the "reds." Cardinal Segura of Seville told a British diplomat a little later that "the experience of Spaniards of all sorts with the Commu-

nists explained much of the lack of political moderation in Franco's regime."[22] "The owners of property in Madrid," wrote a secretary in the British embassy in April 1939, "who have returned to find their houses looted, sacked, and in an indescribable state of filth and all those whose relatives have been assassinated . . . are loudly demanding vengeance."[23] Many people had been liberated from one kind of confinement or another in Madrid, and there were innumerable reports of murders during the war behind the Republican lines.[24] There would be frequent news of people arrested for crimes during the war (for example, "Cordoba: a certain José Candelas has been arrested, he was the perpetrator of twenty-six murders in Alicante during the red tyranny"). There was nothing comparable in Orense.

Lists of people or organisations that had given money for "liberated towns" were published, and there was also publicity about convoys of food that Orense, "exceeding itself in generosity, sends to Madrid—eggs, wine, potatoes."[25] There were lists of subscriptions for a plaque to José Antonio or to help the sanctuary of Santa María de la Cabeza. We see in the press many lists of those fined for blasphemy. There were also attacks on those making money out of the existing economic crisis.[26]

Many Orensanos, like Eduardo, were in 1939 happy to reach an end of the rhetoric of the war, and there was another side to life that quickly came to seem as important as the exultant speeches of 1936–39: films (they changed daily); for example, *Old Kentucky* with Will Rogers or the operetta *Rose Marie* sung in Spanish; or Shirley Temple in *The Exquisite Orphan* or plays at the Teatro Losada. There were frequent lectures in the *biblioteca municipal* on aspects of history; for example, "El barroco y su espíritu," by Florentino López Cuevillas.

The same Falangista of Corunna, José Luis Mariño, who has been previously quoted, recalled that "many followers of the Falange, among them myself, suffered a real disillusion at what transpired, for we believed in the possibility of establishing an authentic national syndicalist system."[27]

It is not obvious how widespread these regrets were. The Barreiros family would have been more traditionalist than Falangist in their reactions. Like Franco himself, they probably liked the deep sense of religious revival that was such a characteristic of Carlism in the 1940s,[28] as of the recovery of old Spain without, however, any desire for dynastic loyalty to the Carlist dynasty. But General Franco also spoke as if he believed in such a national syndicalist society even if he preferred not to carry it into being: "We are witnessing the end of one era and the beginning of another. The liberal world is going under, victim of the cancer of its errors and, with it, commercial imperialism and finance capitalism

are collapsing, with their millions of unemployed. . . . The historical destiny of our era will be fulfilled either by the barbarous formula of Bolshevist totalitarianism or by the patriotic and spiritual one offered by Spain or by any other formula of the fascist peoples."[29]

Eduardo would certainly have told himself that the bus service that he and his father offered was something superior to any other methods of transport—the railways in particular, where the rolling stock was in a bad state, for half the engines had been lost and the replacements ordered in Germany took a long time to arrive, as did the diesel railcars expected from Denmark.[30]

Eduardo's workshop was much too small to benefit from such new institutions of the regime as the Instituto de Crédito para la Reconstrucción, founded to give low-interest loans to enterprises trying to rebuild the country, and so, for the moment, were the measures to help all creators of new factories.

Someone of Eduardo's frame of mind would not have thought much about the guerrilla that continued after 1939 in the mountains of southern Orense. Most of the guerrilla were men (and some women) who had fled from the cities of Galicia in 1936 and had been living in the wild ever since. But there seems to have been no sign of this in the regions of the Sil and Miño. Eduardo's sister María Luz thought the men concerned were bandits.[31]

As for the other obvious legacy of the civil war, the prisoners who were obliged to work off their sentences with compulsory labour, it is not clear that much of this was known in Orense, even though there were three prisons that resembled concentration camps not far away: one at Ribadeo, in Lugo; one at Santa María de Oya, in Pontevedra; and one at the rambling ex-Benedictine baroque monastery of Celanova, in the south of the province of Orense, where both Charles V and Philip V had for a time thought of retiring. Nor was the substantial reconstruction that marked so much of Spain in these years much noticed in Orense though elsewhere it was impressive: the British ambassador Mallet in Madrid wrote to London in 1946, "It is possibly not realised in London how seriously the Spanish government have tackled the problems of the areas devastated during the civil war."[32]

Eduardo senior and Luzdivina were perhaps pleased that so many of the powerful men of the regime were Gallegos; not just Generalísimo Franco himself, but several of his friends such as Generals Alonso Vega, Martín Alonso, Martínez Anido (all had been born in El Ferrol), and Barroso (from Pontevedra), Admiral Moreno, and Juan Antonio Suanzes, an old friend of the Franco family from El Ferrol who was the general's first minister of industry and then his first president of INI (Instituto Nacional de Industria), which, based as it was in the headquarters of the presidency of the government in Castellana 3, came to seem the typi-

cal institution of the early days of the regime, seeking to inspire but also control essential industries.

General Franco himself drove much round Spain—Seville, Granada, Málaga, Cadiz, Valencia—in motorcades, with public appearances, where his followers ensured large crowds shouting "FRANCO, FRANCO, FRANCO!" But he did not come to Orense. His photo was in the public offices, on stamps, and on small coins. That was enough.

12

The Rich Girl of the Village

On his journeys to and from Montforte and Parada del Sil, Eduardo made an important social observation: that the rich of Galicia were mostly road contractors. A few years before he might perhaps have thought that the chocolate factories were more promising, or the pharmaceutical laboratories. As a result of his observation, Eduardo decided to engage in building and formed a company of his own: BECOSA (Barreiros Empresa Constructora, Sociedad Anónima).

So began a new stage in his life. He found work to do and he gained quickly a good reputation. He soon began to develop his own quarry to cover some of the roads, working at first with the firm of Pardo Parada of Corunna. He was asked to repair the roads between Celanova and Barral, between Ginzo (Xinzo de Limia) and the Portuguese frontier, between Ginzo and Bande, between Allariz and Celanova, and between Verín and Vences. There was also a contract for a road from Orense to La Rua de Petín. These remote and interesting beautiful roads in the south of the province of Orense were mostly concerned with routes to Portugal.

This, he said, was "a new, hard struggle, in which it was quite normal for me to leave at 5 in the morning and to return home at 10 at night, coming back from visiting and managing works taking place in different places in the province."[1] Leaders in other construction companies laughed at Eduardo, saying that he would be ruined by this work, which he could not expect to understand. But soon Eduardo and BECOSA, with about eight or ten people,[2] were also engaged in repairing roads more familiar to him—namely, at Barco de Valdeorras, Soutelo de Monte, and, more remotely, near A Gudiña.

One reason why there was never any question of such ruin for Eduardo was that he now had an efficient partner: his brother Valeriano, who, five years

younger than Eduardo, was nineteen in 1943. He had just finished his education thanks to Eduardo's generosity. He never seems to have thought of having a career of his own but devoted his life to the administration of Eduardo's enterprises, bringing order to the accounts and generally supervising the finances. Unlike Eduardo, he had no bent for mechanics. But like his uncle Manolo Rodríguez, he was astute with figures and for many years played an essential part in Eduardo's doings. Valeriano was careful, plausible, meticulous, and rather exquisite.

Valeriano was from the beginning concerned with BECOSA, which he and Eduardo believed needed 200,000 pesetas to set it on its way. The brothers at first thought that they could raise that sum from the Banco Pastor, an arrangement made possible, as are so many things in politics and business, by the accident of friendship. For it so happened that the manager of the Banco Pastor in Orense, a Señor González, came from Parada del Sil at the end of the second Barreiros bus line.

The credit arranged was for eighteen months. This seemed satisfactory to the Barreiros brothers. Then, for reasons that I have not been able yet to discover, the credit was cancelled after only two months. That spelled a great difficulty, for the 200,000 pesetas had already been spent on machinery and other goods. With a great effort, the Barreiros brothers successfully faced the challenge. In those difficulties, they were again helped by the benign figures of Higinio Losada, of Manolo Rodríguez, and of Celso Barreiros of Corunna. More assistance was offered by Manuel González, who ran the leading ironmongery of Orense. González nobly told Eduardo, "Take what you want [from my shop] and pay me when you cover your costs."[3] In 1947, Eduardo would owe González well over 100,000 pesetas.[4] The help of Losada, Manolo Rodríguez, and Celso Barreiros was also fundamental for Eduardo's subsequent success.

These loans were at one level acts of generosity, but at another level they were statements of confidence in the dazzling figure of Eduardo, who seemed able to do everything he wanted with speed, efficiency, and originality.

Eduardo always had an extraordinary vitality and that and his energy gave him a special attraction to both men and women. But despite his charm for almost everyone, he did not seem to have any special friend nor, indeed, much interest in girls of his own age before the end of the civil war. After that, the workshop dominated his imagination.

Then, soon after the end of the war, in February 1940—San Lázaro's day, to be precise, February 11—Eduardo was travelling to Parada del Sil with his father's Renault bus and accompanied by Arturo, the driver whom he admired but did not like. He saw at a bus stop a pretty girl aged about eighteen waiting with a friend, and he asked Arturo who she was. Arturo knew everything about the pas-

sengers on the line, and replied, "Oh she is from Cerreda, she is a boarder at the Carmelites in Orense." She was beginning to study as a teacher. Eduardo commented, "What a pity, I would have liked to take her dancing one day!" He continued to see the girl often. She was, he himself wrote, "the only attraction which Cerreda had."[5] One day later that month, a mutual friend introduced him to her.

The girl in question was Dorinda Ramos, or "Dorindita," or in her family just "Dory." When she was not with the Carmelites, she lived with her aunts, Camila and Generosa, in the village of Cerreda, about ten miles short of Parada del Sil. Cerreda and its neighbour, Alberguería, have tremendous views of the gorge of the Sil. Indeed, from the cemetery at Alberguería, the view in summer seems to be like that of the Rhine, without the roads.

In the winter, however, this countryside is harsh, much more so indeed than the land twelve miles away as the crow flies around Gundiás, which faces west across the Miño, whence Eduardo himself came. But in the summer one is aware of apples, calabashes, potatoes (known as "Indias" there), foxgloves, pears, chickens, stone walls, and woods of colossal chestnuts as well as of hydrangeas. There are wild dogs near the cemetery and wild cats in the streets. Behind the pueblo there lies to the south the splendid mountain of Cabeza de Meda.

Dorinda's mother, María Ramos Rodicio—the latter is a well-known surname from Parada del Sil—had died giving her birth in 1921. Her father, Camilo Ramos, later married again, this time Isabel Mera Lorenzo from Mondáriz, a spa near Vigo in Pontevedra. They went to live in Talavera de la Reina in the Tagus Valley, west of Madrid. Like Eduardo's uncle Manolo Rodríguez of Tuy, and his cousin Celso Barreiros of Corunna, Camilo Ramos made himself successful outside the world of agrarian minifundia from which he had sprung—in his case, as a cattle breeder. He understandably hoped that when his daughter had finished school at the Carmelites in Orense, she would come and live with him in Talavera. But Dorinda preferred to complete her *carrera* as a maestra and remain living with her generous aunts and their families in Cerreda. A cousin of Camilo Ramos's, Fernando Ramos Campo, had been elected a deputy in 1936 for the CEDA.

Since Camilo and his father, Francisco Ramos, had property in Cerreda, Alberguería, and the neighbourhood, including several houses, Dorinda seemed the local heiress, "*la rica del pueblo.*" (The will of Francisco Ramos spoke of eighteen separate little properties in this land of chestnuts and barley.) Every year her aunts would kill twelve pigs, there were day labourers on the farm, much maize, many chestnuts. Her family was always said to have bars of gold hidden away (*lingotes de oro*), even if Dorinda never saw them.[6]

Eduardo suggested that he and she should become *novios.* She said that she

could not contemplate anything so drastic since it would be against the rules of the Carmelites with whom she was still living most of the year—and where, indeed, Eduardo's two sisters, Mary and "Luchi," were also pupils (though not boarders). The Carmelites were then "half a closed order." Also Eduardo, a conductor of buses, must have seemed at first sight an unsuitable choice for Dorinda. Had she not been educated alongside the daughters of the best families of Orense? Eduardo later wrote that she was at first thinking of marrying a "prince of blue blood" as in a fairy story. It took a little time for her to see him as the potential prince whom he turned out to be.

Eduardo was persistent. In the summer, he would see her almost every day, "for she used go for a walk along the road or sit under a tree with some friend from the village. I would always stop the bus to say 'hello' to her with a consequent protest from some of the passengers."[7] He fitted his work round his courtship. Thus he would drive the bus late on Saturday afternoons from Orense to Parada del Sil and arrange to stay in lodgings for the weekend. Early on Sunday, he would set off, on foot, westwards back to Cerreda seven miles away. The road was not paved, it was lonely, and part of it crossed a large wood of old oaks, suitable to conceal wolves or bandits, either political "revolutionary" bandits or conventional ones. Despite these obstacles, Eduardo managed to reach Cerreda in time to go to mass at the church of Santiago there, and then see Dorinda, usually eating sausages (*chorizos*) in her aunts' house or in that of her cousin Flora, who had lost her novio in the civil war and who conveniently lived at the end of the village.

There would then be the return journey to Parada, which was dangerous since it was usually night before Eduardo set off. Once, when he was beginning his walk and had just passed the main inn in Cerreda, a man said to him: "You really plan to go on foot to Parada at this hour of the evening? Remember that this very day the wolves ate a cow and last week killed a soldier who tried to do what you are thinking of doing." Turning to his friends, he said: "We shall go home for our guns and come with you." Eduardo said that this declaration caused him fear but he thought that it would be cowardly to accept the amiable offer. They said, "Well, at least take a torch and a shotgun with *postas* [pellets for use against birds]." Eduardo told them that he already had a pistol but they said that that would serve for little: "So I agreed and walked back to Parada with a torch, a shotgun, and a pistol, not to speak of high boots and a raincoat. . . . It was then winter and the high ground was covered with snow, and there was a strong wind which seemed to chill the bones. Despite that, I reached Parada well, without seeing any wolves. The worst part of the journey was that, when I went to bed, I could not take off my boots, because my feet had swollen."[8]

Two weeks later, on a comparable walk, Eduardo did see wolves. There had been a heavy snowstorm and the bus could not travel, though it was a Monday. Eduardo took advantage of the opportunity to go again to Cerreda. There was, however, a headwind so strong that it blew him backwards in his tracks. In a curve of the road, near the hamlet of Cajide between Parada and Cerreda, he saw a pair of wolves about two hundred yards off. Eduardo fired a shot with the shotgun that he had taken the precaution of carrying and the wolves moved off quietly.

He never seemed at that time to meet the other danger, that of the guerrilla, though there were some such in this neighbourhood.

Despite this romantic approach of Eduardo, Dorinda took some months to agree to become Eduardo's novia. First she said that she was too young (though she would be twenty in March 1941). Then she would say that she did not want a novio for the moment. Eduardo contented himself by writing letters to her every day that he afterwards himself thought "veritable poems." He would give these to the postman going to Cerreda, but even this correspondence did not seem to have the desired effect.[9]

Just as important in Eduardo's cause was the support of friends of Dorinda in Cerreda. He was popular in all the villages through which he and his bus had to pass, and everyone called him "Eduardito." But he was a special favourite in Cerreda. The girls there insisted to Dory that he was the person for her: "He is worth naked more than others smartly dressed," they innocently declared.[10]

The course of true love rarely runs smoothly. Eduardo became eventually exasperated by Dorinda's hesitations, and when she told him to look for someone else, he followed her advice, and started to go out in Orense with one of Dorinda's best friends, Dolores Losada, in the Carmelites. He stopped writing to Cerreda.

Eduardo, however, in 1941 achieved his peace of mind. He was one day inspector on the bus that stopped first at Cerreda and later at Orense. Dorinda found herself sitting in the same row as Luzdivina, Eduardo's mother. Eduardo opened the door for them both. What happened next should be in Eduardo's own words: "Dory left the bus first and began to cry, I took her in my arms and consoled her, by saying that the fault [of their misunderstanding] was mine and that I continued to love her."[11]

That day they went to the cinema: perhaps it was Frank Borzag's *The Radiant Hour (La Hora Radiante)* with Joan Crawford and Melvyn Douglas at the Teatro Losada. Then they went to dance: perhaps to the "magnificent orchestra" with "loudspeakers" at Cabañas, a dancehall that had opened recently. "That night," said Eduardo, "I accompanied her to the house of her relations where she was to stay."[12]

After that, all went well. Eduardo knew that his affection was returned. Their "*noviazgo*" became official. The days when they did not meet, they wrote letters. He wrote later: "I don't think there could have been two people more in love."[13]

This agreeable sensation occurred when it was becoming obvious that Nationalist Spain's allies in the civil war, Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, were certain to be defeated by the Allies; and there was a fear in Madrid that that might mean the dominance of Russia in Europe. The general staff completed a study to this effect in May 1943; this was the work of an able naval officer named Carrero Blanco.[14]

One thing that had a remarkable effect was a Philips radio that Eduardo gave Dorinda in 1943. It cost him 1,800 pesetas.[15] There was no other radio in Cerreda, and the village crowded round to hear what this mysterious machine would tell them. They thought that it was the devil. What did they hear? Not, presumably, the BBC: anyone who listened to that station would find himself accused of "red politics" and be arrested.[16] But the radio itself was in those days a great star in the Spanish sky. Its message was not all serious. There were musical programmes such as *Party in the Air* or *Saturday Night*. Concha Piquer sang "Green Eyes," and Pepe Blanco "The Madrid Crocodile." A modern world was beginning, and Eduardo had brought a passport to reach it.

The climax came in the summer of 1945. The world war was at an end, but that had brought nothing but new uncertainty to Spain. The Russians had, however, stopped in Germany! There were shortages of food in Spain because of the severe drought that in turn had lowered the level of the reservoirs and damaged the programmes of electrification. There were restrictions on the use of electricity, and villages that had only recently moved to that for power were constrained to return to oil lamps (the *quinqué*).

Soon national changes came, brought about largely by the Allied victory in the European war: the Fascist salute, for example, was abolished in September 1945, in a roundabout style, it is true, while a month later a decree pardoned all still in prison for crimes committed during the civil war.[17]

Eduardo told his parents in March 1946 that he had decided to marry Dorinda. He assured Eduardo *padre* and Luzdivina that neither they nor his brothers and sisters would ever want for anything while he was alive.

Eduardo senior, Luzdivina, Valeriano, and Eduardo himself went to Cerreda to ask formally for Dorinda's hand. Plans went ahead for the wedding in August 1946. Beforehand, Eduardo thought it necessary to be confirmed by the new bishop of Orense, Dr. Nájera, for in the past no bishop ever went to such a remote place as Gundiás: Dr. Cerviño had excused himself indefinitely on grounds of health. On August 7, 1946, Eduardo wrote to an old friend, Elías

González, about the wedding. He had not sent him an invitation because that seemed to be like asking for a present. "Even though times are a little critical [I shall marry]," he said, "because I have been courting this girl for six years and it is not good for her to remain any more in the village [*la aldea*], since she is a cultivated person and she is superior to the place."[18] They were not going to have a great fiesta in Cerreda because Dorinda's grandfather, Francisco Ramos, the father of Camilo, had just died and we must assume that the day of the wedding had been preceded by one of mourning with the characteristic *chorones*, women mourners accompanying the coffin to the grave. All the same, Eduardo arranged for Dorinda to have a fine dress made in Orense.

Eduardo's marriage certificate says that his profession was that of a "chauffeur." Appropriately, therefore, he and Dorinda set off for their honeymoon in Corunna in a red Standard Special (S.S.) open car that the bridegroom had recently bought for 35,000 pesetas. It had had a broken cylinder head (*culata*) that he mended just before the wedding day.

13

Marching Alone

The actions of Western powers have accustomed us to marching alone.

—*Franco in* Newsweek, *November 17, 1948*

Corunna, where Eduardo Barreiros spent his honeymoon, was in 1946 still a delightful, old-fashioned port, with few examples of twentieth-century architecture. The population was then about 100,000, having increased during the civil war. It was characterised by its glass-windowed balconies against the wind (*miradores acristalados*), by its battered old stone buildings smelling of the sea, by its noble monuments (including a little park dedicated to the memory of the nineteenth-century Anglo-Irish general Sir John Moore), and by its expansion to the south, to the new town or "La Pescadería."

Corunna was also the city of Eduardo's cousin Celso Barreiros, the jeweller, and his beautiful wife, Aida, both originally natives of Gundiás or San Miguel do Campo. Perhaps the two Barreiros couples went together to the fiesta of August in honour of María Pita, the heroine of the town during Sir Francis Drake's attack in 1589.

Corunna was too the nearest city to the Pazo de Meirás, the lovely country house ten miles to the east that had once belonged to the novelist Emilia Pardo Bazán, and which had been bought for Franco in 1938 by grateful admirers in the city, such as the electrical *empresario* Pedro Barrié de la Maza. The novelist had devoted much of her earnings to the embellishment of this house. The general loved it, as well he might, and spent his summers there, arriving in late July or early August and staying as long as possible, sometimes well into September. There he would sail, fish, and play tennis—with, for example, his confessor, Father Bulart, who knew that Franco was much happier in the Pazo de Meirás

than he ever was in El Pardo, his official residence and office near Madrid.[1] Franco was at the Pazo de Meirás in the summer of 1946, a fact that always excited that city, for ministers were always coming and going, and every year, too, the cabinet met at the Pazo. Sometimes General Franco would paint there: when a child he had always done well at "sketching," and his still-lifes seem very competent.[2]

There was yet another reason for the suitability of Corunna as a place for a honeymoon for Eduardo. Several manufactures of car accessories were established locally. For example, Robert Bosch of Germany had in Corunna an affiliate.[3] There were many salesmen of spare parts of motors. These things enabled Eduardo "even on his honeymoon," as he himself put it later, to visit the blacksmiths and metallurgists, looking for objects that might be useful to him in his workshop.

At the end of his and Dorinda's stay in Corunna, a most appropriate incident occurred: Eduardo was approached by a certain Cartucho, a rich ham merchant originally from the Orensano pueblo of Dacón (close to Carballino). He had seen Eduardo's car parked near the Pyramid on the Alameda.[4] He wanted it. Eduardo had bought the Standard for 35,000 pesetas and now sold it for double that; at the same time, he sold a Hansa, a German car made in Bremen that he had repaired in Orense, for another 60,000 pesetas, making another 100 percent profit.[5]

Well pleased with the financial success of the honeymoon, Eduardo returned with Dorinda to Orense by train, one hundred slow miles that gave Eduardo every opportunity to brood on the superiority of the combustion engine to the railway. There is no record of him travelling again by rail.

The newly married pair lived thereafter on the ground floor of Eduardo *padre*'s house in the Calle Cardenal Quevedo, while the rest of the Barreiros family lived above. The two households were constantly together, however, and Celso, Eduardo's brother, remembered how well Dorinda, an only child, from the beginning fitted into the large family of her husband: "She integrated into the family in an astonishing way," he said.[6]

Eduardo still had his workshop a few hundred yards away in the Avenida de Buenos Aires, to which he would walk along the Calle Juan Manuel de Bedoya every morning, and to which his mother, or now Dorinda, would bring him lunch. From time to time, even he and the younger members of the family of Barreiros would go to one or another of the three cinemas in Orense. The range of good new films was striking, but Eduardo's own relaxations were every day fewer.

Though the Barreiros family retained their buses, Eduardo was by now more

preoccupied by road mending. Thus in September 1946, just after his honeymoon, Eduardo concluded a contract with the officials in Orense (the "transport directorate") to repave four miles of road from Ginzo to the Portuguese frontier, and to do the same to the road between Allariz, twelve miles south of Orense, to the monastery town of Celanova (still full of political prisoners).[7] These were small roads but they had considerable local significance.

In these works, Eduardo could be a demanding master: thus in November 1946 we find him telling the foreman (*capataz*) on the Allariz operations, Antonio Conde Torres, that he had heard that he went often to the bar, leaving the workers on the road unattended; that he had given dynamite to people who had no connection with Barreiros; that on Saint Martin's Day, he had abandoned the works in order to enjoy himself; and, worst of all, that he had "the cowardice to ask the hand of a girl without having any intention of marrying her." Any more complaints, Eduardo insisted, and he would have to leave.[8]

In these months, Eduardo was also showing himself an effective commander of men; he moved easily from being the head of a tiny workshop to an entrepreneur able to ensure that his workers followed his orders without question. He always seemed comfortable with his workers, largely because they saw that he was working as hard as, or harder than, anyone.

These months of late 1946 when Eduardo was busy on the roads south of Orense, as well as with his father's buses to the northeast of that capital, were important ones in the regime of General Franco. First, in October, a Spanish trade delegation arrived in Buenos Aires and at the end of the month was able to report a remarkable success: Argentina would make up for Spain's shortages. They would, for example, sell it 400,000 tons of wheat in 1947 and 300,000 in 1948, providing that the Argentine trade surplus exceeded 2.6 million pesetas.[9] In return, Spain would provide Argentina with cork, lead, and some oil manufacturers.

These credits, wrote Luis Suárez Fernández, the historian who wrote of the regime of Franco so eloquently, "saved Spain from disaster."[10] He did not exaggerate. Earlier in the year, Juan Antonio Suanzes, the minister of industry, had told the Spanish cabinet that the shortage of food was then severe: the absence of fertiliser and the extreme drought of this year had been responsible for a fall in wheat production to 1.8 million tons in 1945–46, in comparison with four million in 1935.

The Argentine arrangement made two things possible in Spain. First, the regime could maintain its drive to establish a genuine national-syndicalist regime. For example, at much the same time as the signature of the Argentine-Spanish agreement, INI (still nominally under the direction of Suanzes but tem-

porarily managed by his deputy, Colonel Joaquín Planell, a military man who had been in the early 1930s Spanish military attaché in Washington) felt able in 1946 to announce its foundation of a new lorry factory on the ruins of the old Hispano Suiza in Barcelona. This was the Empresa Nacional de Autocamiones —ENASA, as it was usually abbreviated.

General Franco, in a speech in February 1946 opening a new electrification of the railway to Segovia from Madrid, again explained what he was hoping for ideologically: "The more we are misunderstood abroad . . . the more we must affirm our revolution. . . . 150,000 new houses must be built every year. . . . We must irrigate our land and we must build new railways. . . . Do you think that this can be done with a different government every day, and with Spaniards in incessant conflict among themselves?"[11]

Second, Spain was enabled by this Argentine support to withstand international opposition. For example, in March 1946 the British cabinet decided that "in spite of the risks involved, it was necessary that firm action should be taken to bring about a change in the political regime of Spain."[12] Next day there was a "tripartite declaration"—one of so many in those half-forgotten years—by Britain, France, and the United States that stated that "so long as Franco remained in control of Spain, that country could not expect full and cordial association with the countries which had defeated Germany and Italy."[13] Then, at the end of the year, Mexico, much enriched by the presence of many distinguished intellectual Spanish Republicans, introduced a resolution into the U.N. calling on that organisation to break diplomatic relations with Spain "until such time as a representative government had been established." The vote in the then fifty-strong United Nations was carried thirty-four to six, with thirteen abstentions. Ambassadors, such as Sir Victor Mallet for England or Norman Armour for the United States, prepared to leave Madrid—though their embassies would remain open under *chargés des affaires*.

Just before the vote in the U.N., an immense public meeting was held in the Plaza de Oriente in front of the royal palace in support of the regime of Franco. General Franco himself appeared on the balcony there and was cheered to the echo of what Stanley Payne, a careful historian of the regime, thought was the largest public gathering in Spanish history. The British ambassador, Mallet, leaving Madrid, thought that the debates in the U.N. had had a counterproductive effect: for they "had injected Franco with a new vitality and had given him a new chance of addressing Spanish national pride."[14] But Spain now was entering a new era of isolation from Europe and North America.

In Orense these international debates seemed far away. True, the new foreign minister, the Catholic Action's Alberto Martín Artajo, was in the city in Septem-

ber 1946 and was greeted by all the local grandees.[15] And Eduardo and Dorinda did experience one clash with what seemed to have been the violent opposition to the regime. In December 1946, they were driving with the priest of Trepa about seven miles from Verín, where Eduardo had been paying the wages of those working on one of his road projects. At a turn of the road, Eduardo came across a local bus that was being held up by bandits. The inspector had been murdered and a travelling salesman wounded. Eduardo was himself obliged to stop and he, Dorinda, and the priest were carefully examined. While Dorinda prayed, the attackers helped themselves to Eduardo's gabardine raincoat, and he and everyone else were ordered by the attackers to remain silent for fifteen minutes while the bandits made good their escape. After the fifteen minutes passed, Eduardo drove the wounded salesman to Dr. Ascarza, in Orense, while one of the bandits was found wounded nearby, having been hit by a bullet that had been intended for the bus.

These bandits may have been members of the Communist group of Demetrio García Álvarez, who was then active in those hills. It is more likely, though, that they were the gang of Juan García Salgado and Bernardino García, well-known thieves without any definite political motivation. There were some other possible alternatives, since that part of Spain was, as the British consul in Vigo reported, considered "a war zone where the inhabitants have to give accommodation to troops when ordered to do so."[16]

The gang were soon found by the civil guard near the Portuguese frontier, about ten miles to the south. A battle followed, and Juan García and Bernardino García were both killed.[17]

The next year, 1947, was a time of consistent, enriching activity for Eduardo. First, presumably as an investment, he began to build a new official trade union edifice in Carballino, the town twenty miles to the west of Orense famous for its octopus (*pulpo*) and for the beginning of the political career of Calvo Sotelo. He also put in for, and gained, a contract to treat fifty miles of roads in the province with asphalt for drainage. Many in Orense again thought that this commitment would ruin Eduardo once and for all. But he vigorously resisted such an interpretation. He drove to Bilbao to buy *batidores* (manual mixers) in order to mix the bitumen that was needed. A new idea had been launched: to combine asphaltic bitumen with water using emulsion. Eduardo bought his batidores in Bilbao, but he then realised that large cauldrons were also needed, which cost 30,000 pesetas each in Bilbao or Corunna. Eduardo thought that he could make his own in his workshop for only 20,000 pesetas. The first test failed.[18] But Eduardo, with the ever-competent Manolo Cid, investigated why the experiment had not worked and soon resolved the matter. That very day he and his team of a

dozen or so workers went out to begin the operation that he had contracted to finish that summer.

Many of the roads that had to be treated were receiving their first-ever irrigation. They had first to be made completely free of dust, much less earth or rubble, before they could receive the asphalt treatment. Eduardo was determined to complete the work in the time that he had promised, and he hired men from all over the province of Orense, whose first task was to sweep the roads with steel brushes. Women followed, using old-fashioned but effective twig brushes. But progress was slow, and Eduardo could see that the work was most demanding on the human body. He conceived the idea of making a machine to do the work.

Within twenty days, he and Manolo Cid had devised what was needed. They adapted a motor from an old four-cylinder Chevrolet to move a roller that was a yard and half long by 16 inches in diameter, full of sharp points of steel, which turned at 250 revolutions a minute. This device quickly removed all the mud that over the years had adhered to the macadamed surface of the road.

It remained to deal with the dust. Eduardo and Manolo incorporated in their invention a powerful ventilator that blew so strongly that the surface of the road became soon completely clean.

This machine was the marvel of all who saw it. It was Eduardo's first major innovation. It enabled the work that he had agreed to perform to be completed on time and made Eduardo's reputation in Orense forever. Domingo Fernández, an Orensano from Untes, just outside the capital to the west, who would join Eduardo as an employee in June 1947, christened the invention the "devil machine" (*máquina diablo*).[19]

14

Transform Your Car to Diesel

"You can transform your car to diesel at 25% of the original cost."

—*Barreiros advertisement, c. 1952*

Eduardo soon embarked on a new adventure. First, he had begun to find the demanding work on the roads of Orense too small a scale for his talents. So, in January 1947, he began to interest himself in a plan to expand the port of the fishing village of Garucha, between Cartagena and Almería, but this idea came to nothing since a million pesetas were needed to carry out the project, and despite the continued backing of Celso, the jeweller of Corunna, and of his uncle Manolo, to mention only two of his relations with money, Eduardo could not come up with the sum.

Then, a month later, in February, another plan was proposed to Eduardo: a scheme for enlarging and strengthening the sea wall (*dique*) of the port, the Grao, of Castellón de la Plana, much more to the north on the Mediterranean. There was then no good defence there against the sea, and the erosion of the land was continuous. It was a part of Spain that had never been poor, thanks to its orange crop. The arrangements were complicated, but essentially possession of a farm there gave the right to irrigation.

Eduardo heard of the scheme for the sea wall and drove across Spain to investigate. It was his first visit to the Mediterranean. He found that the authorities of Castellón needed a new wall about three miles long, four yards deep, and two yards or so high, with a hundred breakwater every five hundred yards. Though the cost would be much greater than the plan suggested for Garucha—it would probably be more than four million pesetas—Eduardo decided to bid for the contract. He believed that he could raise the credit needed from banks in Galicia.

There was a competition that was entirely fair, the controller of the port, José Ripollés, commented many years later, adding ruefully, "unlike the way that things were done later."[1]

Eduardo's idea was different from that of everyone else who was interested. The port authorities had assumed that the work would need an intensive use of a small railway, which they owned, and which they believed could be adapted to bring stone to the seaside in light carriages from a quarry a few miles inland. A crane would transfer the cargo from these carriages to light lorries. Eduardo thought that he could arrange for the work to be done by road and lorries rather than rail and trains. He put this to the port engineer and other advisers of the mayor. This idea caused his proposal to cost 15 percent less than that of anyone else.

The authorities at Castellón were suspicious, and Ripollés, the controller of the port, at first opposed the idea. He and his friends thought that with a sea wall so long and only four yards wide, lorries would not be able to turn around after depositing their loads. They did not see that this problem, if it was one, could be solved by creating a mobile platform whose position could be changed every week so that the lorries could turn 180 degrees on it.

Once Eduardo had gained this contract, he went to Castellón for two months and stayed at the Hotel Amat in the Calle Asensi. There he planned the works for the quarry, the lorries, the waste (*el vertido*)—a very important matter—as well as an improvised local workshop. The day that the work began, Eduardo was called on by Ripollés, by Carlos Expresantil, director of the port, and by his deputy Iglesias. Expresantil confided, "This Barreiros is a genius. He is doing what no one expected. He will go very far."[2]

Ripollés too had come to realise that Eduardo had what he would describe years later as "a privileged natural intelligence."[3]

It was agreed to set up the platform whereby the lorries would enter "*de cara*" and then make a complete turn, with a load of 25,000 kilos. They were lucky. A month later, a storm whipped the sea over the existing sea wall and, had there been a railway line established there, it would have been wrecked.[4] The authorities realised that they had made the right decision in confiding the contract to the "Orensano" Barreiros.

Once the work was under way, Eduardo sent for his brother Valeriano, then aged twenty-three, and asked him to take over temporarily as general supervisor of the work. He himself returned to Orense, to Dorinda, to his family, and to his beloved workshop in the Avenida Buenos Aires. He had had an idea that he wished to try out.

At that time, Eduardo had in Castellón two trucks that used normal petrol

(*gasolina*). At a permanently fixed price of 6.25 pesetas a litre, their use was expensive. Petrol, too, was rationed and hard to come by, even for those working on original projects, as Eduardo was. On the black market—at that time an extremely healthy enterprise in Spain—it cost about twice as much (eleven pesetas from 1948).[5]

Eduardo had a suspicion that his lorries might be easily converted to work with diesel oil, which cost only 1.8 pesetas a litre and was not rationed.

Diesel engines at that time were already well known. Rudolph Diesel had, after all, patented his heavy oil engine as long ago as 1892, and the first engine to be effectively used dated from 1898. A clever and imaginative Catalan engineer, Wifredo Ricart, had before the war persuaded Hispano Suiza to make a four-cylinder diesel engine inspired by the Junker-Jumo. He made a hundred of these engines and put them in a few lorries, which did not, however, make much of an impact. Still, in the 1940s, in the columns even of *La Región* of Orense were many advertisements for diesel motors.[6]

The real difference between these engines and the normal petrol-powered ones was that the diesel made use of greater heat and higher pressure; or, to put the matter differently, diesel oil ("gasoil") burned when it reached a high intensity of heat without the sparking plugs that were necessary with petrol engines. That could not be achieved safely, if at all, in old-fashioned petrol-using lorries.

Eduardo, who knew the world of motors so well, partly because of his experience in the civil war, believed that engines made by the manufacturer Krupp would survive the challenge. So he bought two Krupp engines from a junk merchant in Madrid who had obtained them from the Ministry of Air at an auction. They had apparently been used for the maintenance of aeroplanes in the civil war, probably the famous Junkers 52. On examination, they seemed to him to be tough enough to be able to resist the high pressure of firing by diesel. Eduardo thereupon devoted all his energy, as well as his imagination, to achieve a transformation of his lorries, causing them to be "dieselised," as he himself put it. In addition, he bought *pistones* from Tarabusi, the Italian manufacturer, of Bilbao, whom he had met on his previous journey to that capital.[7]

Eduardo also bought a new injection pump (*bomba de inyección*) from his friends at Robert Bosch in Corunna. Bosch in Germany had been the pioneer of the use of injection pumps for use in motors as employed in Daimler Benz in the 1930s.

As had happened with Eduardo's idea of using lorries to carry the cargoes of stone needed, the experts whom he now consulted about "dieselisation" thought his scheme foolish. But as another native of Orense, Father Feijóo, had learned, Eduardo knew that hostile criticism could quickly turn to enthusiasm.

What occurred is best explained in the words of Eduardo himself: "With the first Krupp motor, I made a wonderful lorry which did excellent service in Castellón."[8] Over the next year Eduardo and Manolo Cid "dieselised" seven lorries. They soon had six benches in the workshop devoted to this new work, each with six or seven men around them, not just Manuel Cid and two apprentices. Domingo Fernández was one of the first to work thus. Dorinda made her contribution, too: the roof of the extension of the workshop in Orense was made from chestnut wood from one of her little fincas outside Cerreda.

In these months, Eduardo would go often back and forth along the 750 or so miles from Orense to Castellón, usually travelling via Madrid, and often driving through the night—"to save time"—often stopping to splash his forehead with water to keep himself awake.[9]

With his successful transformation of the Krupp, Eduardo had broken into a quite new world; and for the next few years, those transformations improvised by him so cleverly to meet the challenge of Castellón's sea wall became his main activity. The possibilities ahead seemed endless.

There were, for example, at that time in Spain about 80,000 petrol-using trucks and vans, many of which, Eduardo could see, could be transformed for the use of diesel fuel, even though some, such as the Chevrolet lorry, were not strong enough. One of the trucks that could be transformed relatively easily was the strong Russian lorry the ZIS-5 (which looked like "3HC" in Cyrillic script, and was therefore often referred to as "*los tres hermanos comunistas*" [the three communist brothers]). Perhaps 5,000 of these remained in Spain in the late 1940s, mostly 73 horsepower. These had been left behind by the Russians or Republicans in 1939 after the civil war. The Ministry of the Army had sought to sell them for civilian use. They had not been very popular since their consumption of petrol was so great. The machine had been based originally on General Motors' Hercules lorry, and it was apparently able to be "dieselised" quite easily, to be turned into what Eduardo proudly named the "EB-1" (the Eduardo Barreiros, no. 1). In the end, Eduardo, in his little workshop in Buenos Aires 56 and later in Madrid, would transform about 2,300 of these Russian lorries (100 or 200 in Orense, 2,000 or more in the plant that he would found outside Madrid). This was Eduardo's golden age.

These successes explain why for him, as for his brothers, there was never any question of emigrating to make money: the local press might talk of "journeys to America" ("Documents, military authorisation, all arranged at the Agencia General, Fuente de San Andrés 17, La Coruña"),[10] but this escape route did not attract the Barreiros family as it did so many others.

In addition, the Russian lorries transformed by Eduardo used twenty-six or

twenty-eight litres of diesel oil per 100 kilometres, instead of more than forty with petrol. So Eduardo began to advertise, and for cars as well as lorries: one advertisement read: "You can transform your car to diesel at 25% of the original cost. Yield guaranteed equal to the diesel in origin. The transformed motor will have the same power and speed as the original. Time taken: six weeks."[11] The cost averaged 70,000 pesetas. It is true that, in that year, 1948, INI's Empresa Nacional de Autocamiones Sociedad Anónima (ENASA) also began to put diesel engines into their new lorries, but those were much more expensive and bigger than those of Eduardo.

Eduardo was also preoccupied by his family life in these years. He and Dorinda still lived in his parents' house in the Calle Cardenal Quevedo, as did his sisters and brothers: Mary and María Luz (Luchy) remained in the Carmelite school, but Valeriano turned twenty-four in 1948 and was already working full time with Eduardo. Graciliano, aged twenty, and Celso, aged thirteen, were still studying. Both were from time to time brought in to the workshop, even if Eduardo was concerned continuously with the educational needs of those two younger brothers in particular.

Dorinda had, too, her first child: Eduardo-Javier was born in February 1948, in the sanatorium of Dr. Peña Rey, at the south side of the square of San Lázaro. Peña Rey, in the 1930s a strong *Galleguista*, was the first gynaecologist of any quality in the province.

Eduardo was still busy, through his and Valeriano's company, BECOSA, with his undertakings on the roads of the province. But one side of his activities came to an end in 1947: this was when Eduardo senior sold the licence for his bus service to Montforte for what seemed the modest sum of 47,000 pesetas. When he and Luzdivina told Eduardo what they had done, they themselves showed much annoyance ("un enorme disgusto"), because it was by then realised that they had sold very cheaply. Eduardo was also annoyed, but he kept that to himself. He merely commented that his father should speak to the owners of the bus line to Luintra to see if they wished to sell their business with their exclusive rights. The moment, thought Eduardo, was a good time to buy, because the owners had almost abandoned the line since "the road there was in an infernal state."[12] Eduardo senior bought the line and allocated six new buses to it, but it never made money.[13]

Eduardo senior by then seems to have been content to play second fiddle in all undertakings to his son, whom he now referred to as "the king of the family."[14] If so, he was a monarch who suffered common injuries. In the winter of 1949 in his workshop, he caught his hand between pulleys. He stopped the machine but his hand was still caught. There was no one to help him, for the hour was still early.

He was patched up eventually but his little finger remained forever between the pulleys and the conveyor belt.

These years in retrospect seem politically calm. A Communist attempt to return to Spain through the Pyrenees had come to an end after the capture of their leading *guerrillero*, Cristino García, who was executed in February 1946. But the decisive event was the Law of Succession of 1948, which declared Spain a monarchy again, even though, like the pre-war regime in Hungary under Admiral Horthy, there was no king—only Franco! Don Juan, the heir to King Alfonso, opposed this law, but all the same, a referendum on the matter was held in July, giving Franco—or so it, of course, seemed—a large majority. It was said that 12.6 million voted in favour of the new law, only 643,000 against.[15] To put the matter proportionately, 89.86 percent of the voters were said to have voted yes, which was 78 percent of the electors all told.

It is difficult to estimate exactly how unfair that vote was. But the British consul in Bilbao, a good source, estimated that the whole plan had been "not designed to obtain any genuine assessment of opinion. . . . It was to provide a certain amount of factual evidence in the form of photographs and press reports for foreign consumption. . . . I have good evidence," the consul went on, "that, in several *colegios* or wards, the returns were counted before the voting started."[16]

Still, this referendum had consequences. For example, 1948 marked the beginning of new friendships for the regime of Franco with the leading one of the former allies of the second world war. In February of that year, for example, Admiral Forrest Sherman, the commander of the United States' Mediterranean fleet, made a private visit to Madrid, where his son-in-law John ("Jack") Fitzpatrick was the naval attaché. They met Admiral Carrero Blanco, who increasingly appeared to be the brain of the regime of General Franco. In September, Senator Chan Gurney, chairman of the U.S. Senate Armed Forces Committee,[17] as well as some U.S. military grandees went to see Franco in Madrid. Franco told them that Russian military strength, like France's, had been much exaggerated. In February too, Representative Alvin O'Konski of Wisconsin had added an amendment to the bill in the United States Congress calling for aid to Europe under the Marshall Plan, which would have included Spain. But the administration cut out the amendment.

About the same time, the British *chargé d'affaires* in Madrid, Douglas Howard, asked rhetorically in the course of a letter to London, "Who really would mind if Spain were included in the Marshall plan?"[18] One who hoped that the country would be implicated was the sometime prime minister of the Republic, the unpredictable Juan Negrín, who thought that economic development, not stagnation, would change the nature of the regime in Spain for the better.[19] The

English writer Gerald Brenan, already famous for his book *The Spanish Labyrinth*, which had appeared in Cambridge in 1943, thought the same: in the preface of his book *The Face of Spain of 1950*, he wrote, "There can surely be no object in condemning the Spanish working classes to starvation and misery . . . though by helping Spain to-day we may appear to be helping the Franco régime, it may also be that precisely in this way, by the influence that economic help usually gives, we may be able in time to bring about the change of régime which . . . is so much to be desired."[20] The United States accepted this view.

15

Good-Bye Rivers, Good-Bye Fountains, Good-Bye Little Streams

Adiós ríos, adiós fontes,
Adiós regatos pequeños.

—*Rosalía de Castro*

In the autumn of 1952, Eduardo Barreiros, still only in his early thirties, made the most important decision of his life: to move to Madrid. He did this when at last the overall standard of living in Spain had come to compare favourably with that obtained in 1930. Spain's exports were on the level of that year, though its imports were not. Industrial production was recovering. General Franco's regime was also beginning to emerge from the ostracism that had weakened it after 1945. The Spanish opposition had come to admit in early 1952 that their armed struggle "was now a part of history."[1]

Eduardo went to Madrid after ten years of increasing success as an entrepreneur, inventor, builder, and road mender. He had come to see, from the success of his "dieselisations," that he needed a bigger frame than Orense could provide; that Madrid, which he had often visited when travelling between Orense and Castellón or when he had gone there to see Graciliano, would offer him that—being, for better or worse, the source of all decisions in the new, centralised Spain. In Madrid, matters could be confirmed on the spot.[2]

Eduardo made his decision, Graciliano recalls, after long discussions with Valeriano. The rest of the family, who it was taken for granted would all go also to Madrid, seem all to have been enthusiastic when they were informed.

The mood in Spain in 1952 was curious. The Instituto Nacional de Industria (INI) and the Ministry of Industry were both still dominated by Franco's austere friend from El Ferrol, Juan Antonio Suanzes, whose watchword was, "We have

no money for risky industrial adventures." But anyone who wanted to do anything important in industry had first to present his ideas to the appropriate director general in Suanzes' ministry. Ambitious entrepreneurs, such as Eduardo, had also to be ready to seek to please the authorities to have any chance of overcoming the difficulties, delays, and negative reactions that so characterised the foothills of the administration.[3]

The regime, meantime, remained formally concerned to achieve a new society that, as Franco himself stated at a meeting of workers in the SEAT factory in Barcelona in June 1949, would "reject capitalism as much as Marxism."[4] The SEAT (Sociedad Española de Automóviles de Turismo) had been founded by INI to reflect the Italian FIAT.[5] Franco thus seemed to be still thinking of the rejection of liberal economics in favour of state regulation operated through a governmental trade union organisation.

Agriculture, from which the Barreiros family had distanced themselves a generation previously, was also in a complicated state since the wheat-growing area in Spain (Galicia included) was still smaller than it had been before the civil war, but the agricultural labour force had increased from four to five million. A modest land reform had been embarked upon but few peasants had been settled on new land. Still, a succession of good harvests had recently removed the need to import wheat from Argentina, and after 1952 it was no longer necessary to mix rye with wheat to make bread. Nitrogenous fertilisers, the essential element in modern agriculture, were already by 1952 more in use than they had been before the civil war.

The regime had had some social changes to its credit. "Tremendous efforts have been made," said the British Labour attaché Corley-Smith in 1955, "to turn Spain into a welfare state. Industrial workers," he went on, "already have comprehensive social insurance, hospitals, technical education and housing programmes."[6] These benefits were soon extended to agricultural workers.[7] Subsidies for large families, begun in 1938, were by 1950 benefiting 15 percent of families. A state insurance policy for retired people now assisted the agricultural, as well as the industrial, labour force. Compulsory sickness insurance had been introduced, and a low-income housing programme had seen the building of over 40,000 houses in 1950. These benefits did not compensate for the lack of political liberty, but they have to be taken into account in measuring the nature of the regime.

The immediate family of Eduardo Barreiros never needed to call on such assistance, but some of their cousins surely did so.

All the same, many enterprising men in Spain felt themselves alien to General Franco's "statist" or Falangist approach, among them Eduardo Barreiros.

Thus, not long after the speech of Franco earlier quoted, Eduardo was writing to England—the England that General Franco himself so much distrusted and even despised—asking for details of what the English firm of Perkins had done with its motors. He received in reply a brochure about the trucks that used Perkins engines—one of those being used by the London brewery of Whitbread, which, in England, cost £345 and, when equipped with a clutch and gear box for Spain, would sell at £406.[8] Spanish concessionaries could sell the Perkins with its diesel engines at more than 100,000 pesetas,[9] but Eduardo's version would sell at a mere 50,000 to 75,000 pesetas.

Eduardo would have liked to collaborate with Perkins. His dream was, indeed, to make Perkins engines in his workshop and then sell them in Spain and in Spanish America. He therefore went to visit the firm in England. He talked of the P-6. This was the first of Eduardo's many visits abroad. Alas, he left no record of his impressions of a land which, still grey from wartime, was only just beginning to recover its old fire. We may be certain that Eduardo would have gone straight to his appointment with Perkins in Peterborough and returned immediately with no time wasted in idle tourism—in the cathedral, for example, despite its monument to poor Catherine of Aragon.

Eduardo came back optimistic to Spain, saying, "We can do business with them."[10] But then, to his astonishment, Perkins made an arrangement with Perkins España, a new business directed by José Ruiz Giménez, a brother of the then minister for education (Joaquín Ruiz Giménez), who had previously worked with INI. Perkins probably decided against collaboration with Eduardo because he did not seem to have the necessary capital or, at that time, the necessary installations. There was no "elective affinity" between Eduardo and Perkins. INI was then immensely powerful; anyone such as Ruiz Giménez who had once worked with the enterprise was assumed to be a permanent member of the club, and anything that INI wished was usually successful in industry. But Perkins did not have a patent in Spain. Eduardo bought a P-6 engine in London and studied it carefully.

Eduardo also considered dealing not only with England but with the United States. He had been aware all his life of the importance of that country in respect to cars and motors. Several of his early buses (the Ford, the Reo) were American-made. In the year 1949, we find Eduardo taking out a subscription to Henry Luce's *Life*. It was logical, therefore, that he should write on January 11, 1950, to the Atlas Imperial Diesel Engine Company of Oakland, California: "Knowing that your firm has developed a system for the conversion of gas engines to fuel engines [that is, of course, from petrol to diesel] and having great interest to know of your system, please inform us of all details so that, after studying its applica-

tions, it may be possible to use it here in Spain; and, if we are sure of its good results, we would be happy to offer ourselves as your representatives in Spain."[11]

Atlas Imperial replied within a week, saying that they no longer made the fuel injection system that Eduardo had asked about; nor, when they had made it, could it have been used indiscriminately to convert existing petrol engines to fuel oil ones.[12]

The decisive change in Spain at this time was in fact the growing friendship of the regime of Franco with the United States. The change was remarkable: in May 1949, Dean Acheson, the United States Secretary of State, was still saying, "Spain must of her own will restore certain fundamental human rights before she can become fit to enter the Western community of nations."[13] But in March 1952, the same statesman was saying, "Preparations have now been completed with the Spanish government for the [United States] to have military facilities in Spain. A military team and an economic group have been to Spain."[14]

The reason was that between 1949 and 1952, the United States, including Dean Acheson, had decided that they needed Spain as an ally in the cold war against the Soviet Union. The change was summed up in a paper of the United States National Security Council (NS 72–2, January 15, 1951) whose first conclusion was to "develop urgently the military potentialities of Spain's strategic position for the common defence of the NATO area."[15]

Galicia played a part in this transformation. Thus, in the late summer of 1949, a U.S. naval squadron had sailed into El Ferrol, Franco's birthplace, and Franco had received Admiral Richard Connolly, commander-in-chief of the U.S. Navy in Europe, at the Pazo de Meirás. The admiral's heavy cruiser, the *Columbus*, no less, was received with a salute of seventeen guns from the cruiser *Canarias* and the destroyer *Jorge Juan*, the ceremony concluded with the playing of national anthems. Then General Franco and the American admiral, with Doña Carmen, wife of the former, and his daughter, Admiral Moreno, and many American sailors went to a bullfight. It was a *novillada* of no great interest, it would seem, but the three "espadas" were received by Franco and Connolly.[16]

Orense welcomed Franco for the first time in September also—on the 16th. He was accompanied by many dignitaries of Galicia, including the Ferrolano minister of industry, Suanzes, the equally Ferrolano head of his household, General Martín Alonso, the minister of public works, Fernández Ladreda, and some others; while Orense was represented by its mayor, E. Valencia; its bishop, Dr. Blanco Nájera (the same who had confirmed Eduardo in 1946); and its civil and military governors. In the afternoon, General Franco and his *cortége* went up to Los Peares to inspect the works on the dam under construction, passing through Feijoo's Melias.

After the visit of the American admiral to Corunna, there was no stopping the growing friendship. Though Louis Johnson, the U.S. defence secretary, was restrained from visiting Spain himself, Representative Murphy talked to Franco on October 1 and made the remarkable comment that he thought him "a very lovely and lovable character."[17] In January 1950, an official of the Pentagon (in effect the ministry of defence in Washington) made a clear recommendation: "Spain's very important geographic location, Spain's proven will to fight, Spain's collaboration with Portugal and our friends and neighbours, the Latin American countries, Spain's very positive anti-communist concentration . . . will in all probability continue for years because of the overwhelming Catholic population."[18]

General Franco was himself optimistic that the prevailing rules in the United States about trading with his country would soon be dismantled: he told an Italian diplomat that "the U.S. general staff had recently discovered the existence of the Pyrenees and their usefulness in another war"![19] By June of that year, just after the beginning of the Korean war, even the ideologically anti-Francoist Labour government in England was beginning to think that "the military advantages of having Spain in NATO in the long run outweigh the disadvantages."[20]

Then in November there came a real olive branch inspired by the United States: the General Assembly of the U.N. voted in favour of the restoration of ambassadors to Spain.[21] In February 1951, the new U.S. ambassador in Spain, Stanford Griffis, whom his British colleague thought had an "oversanguine temperament," was instructed to explore the possibilities; Griffis soon told the press that Franco impressed him as an "alert" leader. He thought that all governments opposed to Communism should try to work together—obviously, to join NATO.[22] Griffis had been ambassador to Argentina and had made it his business to draw as close as possible to Colonel Perón; "I intend to do the same with Franco," he commented. He even suggested that Spanish forces should be associated with America in the occupation of Germany: "As we now find ourselves in a state of limited war with the Soviet Union," he went on, "we have no business to be squeamish about our choice of associates."[23]

Neither Britain nor France saw the matter quite so simply. Therefore, General Franco realised that the only way ahead was a direct agreement with the United States. In April 1951, the United States Senate passed a motion supporting aid to Spain in the same terms as its aid to Germany. A loan was voted. The United States hoped that it would be spent on strengthening Spain's basic industries, especially agriculture. They naturally favoured private, not state, business: an encouragement to men such as Eduardo and in the long run a setback to "autarchists" such as Suanzes. Soon afterwards, two economic delegations ar-

rived in Spain to discuss what was most needed in the way of help, and there was talk of the provision of cotton, wheat as usual, railway equipment, fertilisers, and tractors.

Admiral Sherman was again in Madrid in July 1951. He was now chief of U.S. naval operations. He saw General Franco and listed U.S. naval, air, and military needs. Negotiations for "the Bases agreement" that would last into the twenty-first century then began.[24] In early 1952 thirty ships of the U.S. Sixth Fleet (including two aircraft carriers) and the men as well as the officers were treated to a series of dances and bullfights in most of the Mediterranean ports all the way from Barcelona in the north to Málaga in the south. In the autumn of that year, the U.S. secretary of commerce, Charles Sawyer, visited Franco and saw too the ministers of industry, commerce, and finance. These men discussed how to arrange a higher percentage of foreign participation in Spanish undertakings than the existing arrangement restricting that to 25 percent.[25]

16

A Good Source of Income

Eduardo spent the last months before he moved to Madrid in Castellón with his own converted diesel lorries, five being originally Russian 3HCs and one a Krupp. He was beginning work on the sea wall and he had come to realise that he had to be there himself in order for matters to be managed effectively. In these months he left Valeriano in charge of the Barreiros activities in Galicia (road building, transformation of engines, building). Eduardo would often write to his brother about events in Castellón. Valeriano's letters were like his personality: cautious, careful, and thoughtful. For example, on April 1, 1951, he wrote from Orense to Eduardo in Castellón a letter ending, "Make a good note of your expenses."[1] It was advice that Eduardo, like most imaginative men, was not always good at heeding.

Eduardo's letters, in contrast, are much more vigorous if less well constructed. For example, he wrote on April 30, 1951, to Valeriano about his difficulties with Dragados, then as now a large construction company, "because of having to share a quarry and extract some stone."[2] I cite the letter at length, partly to give an impression of the difficulties faced by Eduardo in Castellón, but partly also to indicate Eduardo's manner of thinking: "Today we have started, certainly very well, everything turned out as planned, we started at 11 A.M. and through the reports you'll see what has been done. Our crane works very well, it unloads a wagon every 15 minutes. . . . [But] Dragados [the construction company] opposes everything we do, even while those on their board have told them 'you don't know what you're in for, since you are facing a big enterprise which has already been approved, and so Barreiros will always have the upper hand,' to which they replied, 'as there is another company in the quarry here, we don't even need a double budget, therefore, from now on, we'll be the ugly ducklings here, we

will see if, that way, we can take over any future works here.' You cannot imagine the sadness and distress that all this has caused me, furthermore, I have had to sort out a large number of things since I've arrived. . . . Still, it's appropriate, since I'm already here, to resolve the matter of petrol quotas and the rest in order to make a real start introducing between 300 to 400 tons by Sept 1."[3]

The essential thing was that Eduardo had arranged to deliver "two trains of five wagons each with an approximate load of 12,000 kilograms per wagon."[4] These supplies would be brought from the quarry by dieselised lorries.

In the spring of 1951, Eduardo, being himself still busy in Castellón, though with the most important part of the endeavour there already over, sent the Ministry of Industry a request for a patent for his transformation of petrol motors to diesel (gasoline to gasoil). These motors had been such a success in Castellón that it seemed foolish not to make the most of the opportunity offered. The application was accepted on April 14. Valeriano wrote a triumphant letter to Eduardo: "The impressions which I have are magnificent, given that the rights which they give us are enormous. . . . Nobody in Spain nor its colonies can perform these transformations without our consent and with them we shall have a good source of income, perhaps even a fabulous one."[5]

A further patent (198,618) followed on May 13. It gave a most detailed description as to how the system would be made to work.[6] Two months later, Eduardo presented an improved system.

A further elaboration was made on July 7: "We have concluded that, as well as being able to transform petrol engines into diesel ones through a reduction of the ignition chamber itself achieved by the enlargement of the pistons, or the connecting rods, we can reach the same conclusion by placing special cylinder heads . . . based on known types of original diesel engines."[7]

These patents formed the agenda henceforth for Eduardo's work in what he described formally as "buying and selling, construction, assembly and repair of all kind of machines and motors."[8]

On the strength of their patent, Eduardo and his brothers mounted an elaborate advertising campaign in the newspapers of Galicia and then in Madrid. Thus on August 5, 1951, in *El Ideal Gallego (Galicia)* we read: "With diesel you can transform your vehicle for 25 percent of the cost in the factory. Guaranteed performance equal to that of an original diesel. The transformed engine will maintain the same power and speed. Delivery: six weeks: Patent. E. Barreiros."[9] In September there was an exhibition in Vigo of "transformed engines." A reporter of the *Hoja del Lunes* in Madrid reported that he almost could not see the objects "due to the number of people surrounding them. Our impression, although we are no experts, is that the said engines show an impeccable finish

which is every bit as good as that of diesel engines bought from abroad. There can be no doubt but that we have taken a giant step forward in Galicia for the good of the automobile industry. With all our heart, we warmly congratulate Eduardo Barreiros."[10] This was the first time that Eduardo and his activities appeared in the papers as a news item.

On November 1, 1951, the monarchist paper *ABC* carried the first national advertisement for Eduardo's products: "It is already a reality: the transformation of petrol engines TO DIESEL . . . WE totally GUARANTEE through our system the transformation of most engines, either those in automobiles or in marine or others put to industrial uses."[11] Sometimes, though, Eduardo was looking for people, rather than to be selling his wares: "We need mechanics—lathe operators—sheet metalworkers. E. Barreiros, Orense."[12]

In that month of November 1951, the bill of Manuel González, the biggest iron master (*herrero*) of Orense, and already a substantial collaborator of Eduardo's, as we have seen, was 48,000 pesetas, the biggest item being "Irimo lathes" at 1,560 pesetas each.[13] Eduardo then sought another loan of 450,000 pesetas from the blacksmith in order to expand his "transformation plant."

González suggested to Eduardo that he should convert himself into a company, but Eduardo, with Valeriano's support, resisted that idea because they thought that that would limit their activities: "They were by then used to doing many things at the same time."[14] But within a year or two Eduardo followed González's advice all the same.

As an indirect result of his advertising campaign, Eduardo received a suggestion that he might like to hire some workshops to the south of Madrid, on the road to Andalusia near the suburb of Villaverde. Valeriano went to see them and liked them. Eduardo went there too. He decided to hire them at 50,000 pesetas a month, a vast sum for the Barreiros brothers at that time, but the new place seemed immediately worthwhile. This site had much better facilities than what Eduardo had in Orense. Up until then the new position had been repairing tractors, motors, and electrical machinery.[15] It consisted of two floors about 2,000 square yards all told, where fifty men could easily work. That was the size of Eduardo's old workforce in Orense which, by 1952, had already transformed about two hundred *motores de gasolina* to diesel. Outside, there was a patio. The owner and manager of the property was a Hungarian called Nicolás Gal, who told a friend of his, Antonio González, "Antonio, listen to this! I have let the shed which I have on the Andalusia road to a Gallego who wants to transform motors, at 50,000 pesetas a month. I don't know if he will fall flat in a big way but it's certain that he has a very lively face."[16]

The transfer of Eduardo's interests to Madrid coincided with national changes

with which anyone concerned with automobiles was affected. Thus, in 1950 tourism began to make a serious contribution to Spanish earnings, and in the following year more than a million tourists visited the country for the first time. With the changing economic climate, Eduardo, in his visits to Madrid to see Graciliano or to stay with him on the way to or from Castellón, would have seen Citröens, Morrises, and Austins on the capital's fine streets. A new world was beginning and Eduardo intended to be present at its creation.

A hint of what was about to happen in respect of Barreiros came in the newspaper *Informaciones*, of Madrid, on December 26, 1951, where the front page talked of how Eduardo had delivered the first twenty petrol motors transformed into diesel by a patent of his own. It was the first time in Spain, *Informaciones* went on, that an industrial achievement like this had been created.[17]

A good impression of what the change of ownership meant on the spot is given by Antonio Márquez, a long-term worker with Eduardo on this site, in his interesting (unpublished) novel *Orto y Ocaso de una empresa:* "One day, the workers were told to clean the place. A strange lorry with a large cargo then arrived. It had a diesel engine, with an injection pump for the service of its cylinders as well as a refrigeration pump and a hodgepodge of tubes from which comes a small tube and an injection pump to supply fuel to the cylinders, as well as a cooling pump and a hodgepodge of pipes."[18] It was a 3HC that Eduardo had just transformed in Orense.

Nicolás Gal told his workers that he had accepted the offer of a firm called Galicia Industrial SA (GISA) for the plant. (This is what the Barreiros brothers informally called their new business.) Eduardo then stepped forward in a smart suit, white shirt, handkerchief perfectly placed in the breast pocket, in that thin white line that characterised the well-dressed man of those days, and addressed the workers, all of whom he proposed to retain. He said that other work would come. But, for the moment, they had a "passionately interestingly task. That was transforming petrol motors into diesel ones."[19] He planned to transform 5,000 motors in two years in the new *fábrica*—a word he used for the first time. He immediately arranged for work in two shifts, one beginning at eight in the morning and lasting until eight at night, one from eight at night until eight in the morning. There would be an hour for lunch or dinner within these hours and other spaces of twenty minutes for sandwiches. Six "bosses" were named who would organise the *turnos*.

"The behaviour of our new boss perplexed everyone," wrote Márquez. "We asked ourselves when he slept, when he ate, when he saw his wife and child, because he was always in the works, at all hours of the day and night, in all parts of the place. He had an energy which was quite exceptional. He always had a clean

white shirt, and he seemed always to have shaved very recently as if he had just got out of bed. He exhaled a perfume—Floid, I think—that betrayed his presence everywhere he walked."[20]

Significantly, on January 1, 1952, Eduardo contracted a debt with his benign uncle Manuel Rodríguez ("Mariposa") for 300,000 pesetas, paying 4 percent interest (i.e., 12,000 pesetas a year), as well as "a share in the profits in the transformation business amounting to a thousand pesetas for every motor which was transformed. This could not be less than fifty motors a year nor more than seventy." Eduardo senior would be Eduardo's guarantor. The loan was for a year but it could be extended.[21]

On December 31, 1951, for the first time we see in the press a mention of the "Madrid branch: Factory—Villaverde; Offices—Paseo Delicias 6";[22] and, five months later, on May 20, 1952, *ABC* had this news of Barreiros's new installation: "Just one more effort of Barreiros Diesel: a modern factory for the transformation of petrol motors to Diesel, established in Madrid (Villaverde km. 7) valued at 10 million pesetas; a central office will inform you of these possibilities in full detail, apply to Paseo Delicias 6, 10, apartado 7074, Madrid; and there is a new method of paying, by instalments."

Eduardo himself spoke later of his other urgent needs this year—especially on the subject of psycho-technical tests for workers. That was something on which he would always insist later, since someone who worked in what was the right place for him would be happy and so work more: "In that era in Spain there were very few professionals for workshops, so that we had to set about the training of personnel. To go faster, we established a department depending on our Human Resources section which concerned itself with psychotechnical examinations. This system had many benefits. First the examination enabled us to put the right person in the right place so benefiting both the person concerned and the factory. In addition, the psychotechnical examination enabled us to discover those who were really talented, and whether they had qualities of leadership. These tests were carried out with the collaboration of specialists in industrial psychology. Then we discovered that if a business is organised so that courses can be given in all the specialisms that are raised by it, the result is the best, since the best treasure of a business is the staff if it is well organised. What is invested in organisation is the key to efficiency. My greatest preoccupation," Eduardo went on, "was the training of the intermediate level of command. Their training is really essential."[23] Thus we see Eduardo Barreiros touching on all the important elements of industrial training and business organisation without ever having studied the matter.

Eduardo applied for a licence on July 22, 1952, to establish himself at

Villaverde and received permission to do so on October 6, 1952. To achieve this, Spain being then as it was, he had to obtain an "agreement" from the industry bureau in the province of Madrid.[24] What a bureaucracy it all was!

While preparing the new workshop, Eduardo continued all his old activities: thus in February 1952, at the Exposición in the Escuela Superior de Ingenieros Industriales de Madrid, on the theme "Progreso, Técnico Industrial," Eduardo presented several diesel-transformed motors, such as a Krupp, a General Motors Hercules, and a "Ruso" 3HC. Then, the same month, a decree was issued about tractors that encouraged Eduardo to apply to make them with his own technology. But the permission was rejected: the products of Motor Ibérica (Ebro) and Lanz Ibérica (John Deere) seemed to the all-embracing INI to be adequate.[25]

In April 1952, the journal *Automovilismo* summed up Eduardo's activities: it said that it was doubly pleased to be able to say that there was a great reduction of costs in fuel in Eduardo's engines. Second, they were pleased to find that to do this "it was not necessary to have recourse to foreign assistance since the undertaking was done in Spanish workshops precisely in the very well known and competent mechanical workshops of F. [*sic*] Barreiros de Orense."

Before leaving the last named city, Eduardo seems to have thought it desirable to confirm his understanding with the Church: on May 16, 1952, it was announced that confessors would visit his workshop at seven in the evening for all who wanted to "fulfil their Pascal duties." There would also be a special mass in the *capilla* of the Franciscans.[26] Without being noticed much, the same year, the old Hotel Roma, soul of Orense since 1909, was closed, and the "peña de los sabios" that met there for so long had to move to the Café Volter.[27]

Then, for the Barreiros family, it was good-bye to the Teatro Losada, with its splendid succession of foreign films, good-bye too to the Coliseo Xeteira, with its regular orchestras and bands, not to speak of the Teatro Principal, where the orators of the 1930s had spoken, Calvo Sotelo, Antonio Bóveda, and José Antonio among them, which was also by 1952 a cinema. It was, too, good-bye to the local authorities who had always to be so closely borne in mind, assuaged and pleased by empresarios of Orense; the civil governor (Pedro Ibisate Gorria), who was also as always the local head of the "Movement"; the mayor (Eduardo Valencia); the military governor; and the bishop (Dr. Nájera). Among these dignitaries, Eduardo remained a close friend of the deputy chief of the "Movement," Ricardo Martín Esperanza, who was also director of the Caja de Ahorros of Orense. Martín Esperanza, a founder of the Falange in Orense, had taken a prominent part in the rising in 1936, being for a time military commander in Verín.[28]

Finally, just before Eduardo set off for Madrid, he was able proudly also to report the birth to Dorinda, in the same clinic of Dr. Peñas Rey, on the Plaza de

San Lázaro where his son Eduardo-Javier had been born, of another child, a daughter, on August 8, 1952: "BIRTH With all happiness a delightful child has been born to the wife of our particular friend, the industrialist of this city, Don Eduardo Barreiros Rodríguez, previously Doña Dory Ramos Ramos. To the newborn infant, the name will be given of María Luz de los angeles."[29]

Book IV

Madrid

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17

"Madrid! Madrid!"

> Soon lights began to appear, first singly & uncertainly, then in firm clusters and lastly in an intricate pattern of loops and curves and parallel lines — green, red and orange — like congealed fireworks; at the sight of which, everyone in the compartment stood up and shouted "Madrid, Madrid!"
>
> "Madrid," mother echoed, with tears in her eyes. People reacted as if there had been a free distribution of champagne. The sight of Madrid in the distance revived the drooping, unruffled the bad tempered, bestowed the gift of tongues upon the inarticulate. Everyone waved.
>
> —*Nina Epton*, Madrid

The Barreiros family were not alone in Spain in travelling to Madrid in 1952. The most characteristic sight in the country during the late 1940s and early 1950s, indeed, was that of large provincial families with many suitcases on station platforms waiting patiently, under an elegant French clock put up two generations before, for the train to Madrid, to Barcelona, or to Bilbao.

There might be no water and no electric light at their destinations and, of course, no schools. Telephones were difficult to find, and even if one were available, a long-distance call often meant hours of waiting. There was also a risk that the authorities might pull down the makeshift houses that the newcomers put up since they had, as a rule, been built without official permission. Yet, all the same, these benighted assemblies of shacks represented for the newcomers a paradise of its own.

A few years later, Corley Smith, the British labour attaché, wrote that the government was making praiseworthy efforts to stimulate subsidised housing, "but they have never looked like catching up with the backlog of Madrid. A great belt

of shanty town has been growing round the city and, today, you can walk for miles through crudely built brick houses often put up by the occupiers or their friends. Some are not so bad — and most are a model of cleanliness. But there is a shortage of running water and drinking water has to be brought in a cart. There are no drains."[1]

All those who came to Madrid or other capitals, whether they were from Andalusia or Galicia, Extremadura or just another part of Castile, were united by one thing: a determination never to return to their pueblo — except once a year for the annual fiesta.

These moves to the city were made for many reasons, not just the poor incomes in the country, compounded by the poor harvests of the 1940s. In Andalusia and Extremadura in the civil war, the landowners had almost always sided with the rebels, and in many pueblos that brutal conflict lived on in the minds of both defeated and victorious, and played a part in those of their children. Madrid or Barcelona thus constituted the possibility of an escape from intolerable memories, as well as a new start. In such great cities, too, there were real chances of permanent employment that now, because of the national syndical revolution, would carry with it a day of rest on Sundays and summer holidays, pensions, and guarantees against summary dismissal. Perhaps the coming of radios played a part in telling country people that they might better themselves in cities. Even those who began life in Madrid as ragpickers would soon be working as waiters or maids. There were numerous extralegal possibilities. Nina Epton, in an admirable book on Madrid in the 1950s, has a description of new immigrants to the city who would return to the new township of Ciudad Los Ángeles after a day's scavenging: there was a yard known as "the office," where people sorted out the rubbish that they had accumulated, even including small pieces of coal that they might be able to sell for eight pesetas a bucket. Some people nearby would raise chickens and so had eggs too to dispose of in the capital. Communities grew quickly; and in no time at all, shops would spring up.

These new urban villages near Madrid also awoke the consciences of the upper classes. Welfare centres taught sewing, cooking, and domestic science. "What struck me about these centres," wrote Nina Epton, "was their gaiety, their lack of rigidity and the absence of institutional atmosphere."[2] Rafael Abella commented, "The presence of these spontaneously formed communities awoke a new examination of conscience by the clergy."[3]

There was a large black market. The British *chargé d'affaires*, Henry Hankey,[4] wrote in February 1950: "Personnel of government and falange organisations . . . do not go short of basic foodstuffs and the ample supplies given to these specially favoured groups, together with bulk misappropriations by influential members

of the agricultural syndicates and even the armed forces form the major sources of the enormous black market traffic. . . . A small army of women and boys enter the big towns daily with illegal supplies of various foods which are sold on a regular basis, and at well-established black prices to all the larger houses, restaurants and shops."[5]

The availability of so many new Madrileños for work did wonders for the labour market in Madrid. Eduardo Barreiros, a new immigrant of a different kind, was one of the many who benefited in his new factory. Most of his workers probably came from Andalusia.

The city of Madrid seemed in 1952 to be a special place for Gallegos. First of all, Franco, the head of government as well as of state, who seemed immortal, was a Gallego on both sides of his military-minded family, even if those who come from the bureaucratic naval town of El Ferrol are not always considered real Gallegos by those who live elsewhere in that green land. Franco, however, always seemed at home in Galicia and with Gallegos: thus he spent his long summers in the beautiful Pazo de Meirás, with its long views down the estuary of the Betanzos River. It was there that he had told an American journalist, Jay Allen, that he did not find it at all difficult to rule Spain.[6] The Falangist colonel Emilio Tarduchy, who so regretted Franco's frequent departures from José Antonio's principles, was wont to speak of Franco as "un Gallego imposible"; while the wartime British ambassador, Sir Samuel Hoare, spoke of the general as "a hard Galician, obstinate and secretive."[7]

The general's government still included Gallegos. Pride of place was held by Juan Antonio Suanzes, whom the family of Franco, especially Nicolás, had known in El Ferrol — Suanzes' father had been the director of one of the colleges charged to prepare boys for the naval academy exam.[8] Suanzes had been a naval engineer and had had a dangerous civil war that marked him, like others of Franco's ministers in those days, for life.[9] In 1952, he was still head of INI, his own creation in 1941, and he had left the Ministry of Industry to his onetime deputy in INI, Colonel Joaquín Planell. One historian of INI, while not denying Suanzes' competence and his capacities for command, spoke of him as "a schoolmaster who [thought that he] had to teach everyone to be patriotic."[10] Franco sometimes gave way to Suanzes, who impressed Franco not only for his naval activities, though that was important, and not only because he was an engineer. Suanzes had been responsible for the general administration and mobilisation of the national zone during the war, taking into account everything from the maintenance of lorries to the repair of railway lines.[11] Though never directly associated with the Falange, Suanzes was in ideological terms the strongest Fascist of the regime in the sense that he believed that there were no limits to direction by the state.

An indication of Suanzes' power was shown early in 1953: the Generalísimo had wanted his deputy chief of household, General Fernando Fuertes de Villavicencio, to become president of the tourist company Autotransporte Turístico Español Sociedad Anónima (ATESA), which depended on INI. The generalísmo's chief adviser, Admiral Carrero Blanco, now already in the cabinet as secretary of the presidency, sent the suggestion to Suanzes' deputy Sirvent. Sirvent passed the letter to Suanzes, who was furious. He said that the hour had obviously come for him to resign, for the idea had been put to him through Carrero, whom Suanzes hated; he declared that he received such proposals only from General Franco direct.

Sirvent told Suanzes that he should hesitate about resigning since his place as head of INI was "a plan of God's own."[12] Franco anyway refused to accept the resignation, and shortly Mariano Urzaiz, a sailor like Suanzes himself who had married the duchess of Villahermosa, was named to direct ATESA; Fuertes found a place only on the board of directors.[13]

Also from El Ferrol came a cousin of Suanzes', Admiral Salvador Moreno, who in 1952 was minister of the navy, as he had been since 1939. Two preeminent Ferrolanos in the army, Generals Alonso Vega and Martín Alonso, both old friends of General Franco's, were the commanders of the Civil Guard and of the first military region, respectively; both would become in their day ministers of war, and Alonso Vega of the interior. Alonso Vega was in many ways the general now closest to Franco and would have a commanding role in these two posts.[14]

There was one more dominating Gallego in the Madrid of the 1950s. A statue of the "protomartyr" of 1936, José María Calvo Sotelo, the unforgettable member of the Cortes for Orense, looked down in Madrid into the city from the north along the Paseo de la Castellana, the first stretch of which, the onetime Paseo de Recoletos adjoining the Plaza de Cibeles, had been changed to bear his name. Calvo Sotelo's place in this main avenue of the capital of General Franco was appropriate since the regime was in his debt. In many ways, wrote Stanley Payne, the fine historian of the Falange, "the right radical programme of 'monarchical absolutism' which Calvo Sotelo had defined and preached in a hundred speeches between 1933 and 1936 most nearly anticipated the philosophy of the regime."[15]

This, then, was the city into which the Barreiroses swept in November 1952. The family established themselves in the Calle Ferraz, a long street on the western side of Madrid. Some fine apartment blocks had been built there in the early part of the century.

There came, too, as in Orense, Eduardo's three brothers, Valeriano, Gracil-

iano, and Celso, as well as Mary and María Luz, and the children Eduardo-Javier and Mariluz (a baby). Eduardo *padre* and Luzdivina went to live in another *piso* in the same street, no. 22. For a time Luzdivina, her son Celso recalled, "wanted to go home to Orense but Eduardo went out of his way to make everything in Madrid seem attractive, taking them all to the cinema, for example and, after a while, she relented and came to love Madrid," though she would always return with Eduardo senior to Orense for the summer.[16]

Dorinda, in the new circumstances, conducted herself with the same tact that had characterised her management of the house in the Calle Cardenal Quevedo in Orense. Like her mother-in-law, she soon too found Madrid to be a new home. The large Barreiros family lived as well as worked together, the three bachelor uncles seeming extra fathers to Eduardo's children.

On the ground floor in the Calle Ferraz no. 17, Eduardo established a small workshop 80 yards by 40, known to the family as his "factory 2" ("factory 1" being in Orense and "factory 3" being that new one on the road to Andalusia).[17] He paid 10,000 pesetas a month for the flat.[18]

As for that "factory 3," "la Fábrica," as it was called by those who worked in Villaverde, the work of adaptation began in December 1952. Eduardo planned what he wanted without an architect.[19] Just before Christmas, Eduardo gave a party there to his employees: five waiters arrived with long paper tablecloths that they laid on planks placed on trestles. There were *tapas*, shellfish, wines. Eduardo addressed the company in a Christmas spirit but also described how in Orense, in the past twelve months, he and his associates had transformed more than a hundred motors into diesel — sixty being 3HC, no less than twenty-seven being for clients from Orense, twenty from other parts of Galicia.[20] He explained how he proposed to continue thus on a larger scale in Madrid. He expected soon to make new motors too.

"The factory" on kilometre 7 of the Andalusian road was for Eduardo the work of art to which from now on he gave his complete attention. From the beginning he treated those who worked there as an extended family. He took over Gal's workers and soon began increasing them. He himself once put this clearly: "Our family does not end with Celso, nor with my dear sisters. I consider that the family includes the whole staff of the business."[21] He had his workshops in Orense, in the Calle Ferraz, and now in Castellón also to serve the still-unfinished works on the "dique" there, but these unpromising buildings at kilometre 7 on the road to Andalusia, with its nearly 4,000 square yards, were the centre of his imagination, his passion, his jewel.

He would in those days of the 1950s leave the flat in the Calle Ferraz at half-past six or at seven o'clock in the morning, always in winter an hour of darkness.

He would usually look into his children's rooms before he set out. "Where are you going so early, Papa?" his daughter Mariluz would ask. "To make a little money for you," was his invariable reply. "When can I have it, Papa?" was her wise four-year-old response.[22]

Eduardo, always impeccably dressed, would then be driven to the factory by a chauffeur, Rafael, sometimes by the *botones* of the Calle Ferraz, Alonso Collar, a Madrileño with ambition. Eduardo always aimed to be at the fábrica before the day workers arrived to start their shift at eight o'clock.

Every morning Eduardo would walk around his factory talking sometimes to chiefs of departments, sometimes to those who were performing the hard basic work, often joining them in the endeavour on which they had embarked. He liked to work himself: "Take into account that I have been always at the same level as them. My secret consists in the fact that I also worked, I worked every day, and I have never stopped since I began."[23] "Don Eduardo," as he was known, might maintain a certain distance from his technicians and senior directors, but his employees on the factory floor realised that they had in him a friend as well as a master. Julián Merino, a Cantabrian engineer who joined him in 1954, remarked, "Eduardo was very intelligent; nothing escaped him. He loved his workers and they trusted him."[24] Eduardo's son Eduardo-Javier said much the same: "Eduardo loved his employees."[25] The Gallego statesman Manuel Fraga, at that time still a professor at the university, once remarked, "He was very good with his workers, whom he looked after well."[26]

These workers were conscious that they were privileged men; because of the new laws, once they had work it could not be easily taken from them. A senior worker of that time, Gabriel Gómez, explained that he and his colleagues felt secure at Villaverde because they had social security, they earned enough money to buy a flat, and they also had enough to enable their wives to remain at home looking after the children.[27] These benefits were rare in those years. Eduardo knew that he should do whatever was necessary to keep his workers fit as well as contented. On a lesser scale than in the case of Eduardo, that attitude was common at that time in the factories of Madrid. Many factory owners, Eduardo among them, gave bonuses of up to 200 pesetas for any extra work that they performed.

Those workers whom Eduardo took over from Gal must have included many new Madrileños of the type mentioned earlier in this chapter—men born in Andalusia or Extremadura and whose first job this was. Eduardo liked the Gallegos who worked for him but had no special loyalty to them. Perhaps, indeed, he was harder on Gallegos than others since he expected more of them. He would often say that the best workers are Andaluces—"provided they are out of Andalusia."[28]

At about one o'clock, Eduardo would retreat to a wood-panelled office, which he had brought himself to accept was necessary at the fábrica—"complete with crucifix and portrait of Franco," recalled an English visitor a little later, and at half past two, he would lunch in a dining room that he had also devised.[29] There would be often his brothers Valeriano and Graciliano, and later Celso, but chiefly there would be Eduardo's senior lieutenants. Conversation at lunch was usually about technical matters, never politics. Valeriano's role was important, especially in respect of the organisation of the work—"the nuts and bolts," as the English would express it. He also thought how best the factory should be organised. For a time Eduardo thought that outside advice was desirable on the matter, and he hired a Dutchman, Van Dionan, for that purpose. But his advice was not as good as Valeriano's.[30]

Graciliano Barreiros was at the School of Engineering in Madrid until 1955. He too had a role, for even before he had finished his course, he would often go, after his morning classes, in the afternoon to Eduardo's office and discuss who were the promising people in his faculty. His task was that of trying to ensure that people with a promising future as engineers came to work in the fábrica. He was an essential talent scout, and in this respect he was in frequent touch with a professor of engineering in Madrid, Luis Ruiz-Castillo, "el Porro," who soon became a friend of Eduardo's.[31]

A frequent presence in the dining room was Nicolás Gal, still the day-to-day manager of the factory. His duty was to ensure that the electricity worked, that nothing was stolen at night, and also that there were sandwiches available for the night shift.[32] He too would be responsible for ensuring that the law of 1946 whereby factories that employed more than fifty people had to have canteens or cooperative stores was carried out. The latter would supply both rationed and unrationed food, often bought in the black market at relatively low prices. Others who would lunch with Eduardo in the new dining room in those golden days of promise included the senior directors, whom he had just appointed to the different managerial departments that from early on were four in number: production, design, testing and research. There was also a section concerned with sales.

After lunch, Eduardo would work in his office in the fábrica until dinner, but sometimes after that, at home with Dorinda and his brothers, he would return to Villaverde to encourage those working on the night shift, sometimes dipping into his pocket to give those who were working hard a special tip: "He had the habit of going to the fábrica at night, and on those occasions he would give us tips."[33] Often there would also be work on Sundays: in the fábrica the commitment meant, as Alonso Collar recalled, that staff who entered the fábrica at eight on Saturday would often not emerge until lunchtime on Sunday.[34]

In 1954 Barreiros Diesel was giving employment to about 150 workers, in a factory of almost 4,000 square yards. Eduardo was keen to expand, and on December 5, 1954, the second meeting of his board decided to approve the purchase from a neighbour, Consur S.A., the group of industrial buildings between kilometre 7 and 8, on the road from Getafe or that from Madrid to Cádiz, at Villaverde consisting of a large shed divided into three compartments. In size it ran to nearly 16,000 square yards. Whereas the first fábrica had once made mattresses and camp beds, this second one had been making metal cisterns.[35]

Julián Merino, who has been cited above, joined Eduardo as a "técnico." He had studied in the Escuela Mecánica de Peritos Industriales (the school of industrial engineers such as there was in most Spanish provincial capitals) of Valladolid. After that he was in the army, where he had had much to do with motors. He remembered how, in the military park of Carabanchel, 4,000 lorries were left unattended for months. Then he heard that Eduardo needed a technician, he applied for the job, and he had interviews first with Valeriano, then with Eduardo. The latter confirmed to him that he was suitable for the appointment. But, Eduardo said, he had to realise first that, in working at Villaverde, "There are no limits. Everyone who works with me must work. There are no hours."[36]

Merino soon became chief of mechanisation in the *fábrica de piezas*. Any comparison, he later remembered, with his activities in the army was absurd, for in the army they "fiddled about. In Barreiros, we worked." Eduardo, recalled Merino, "had clear ideas as to what he wanted but he was not authoritarian. He made a hundred decisions personally, and usually seventy-five of them were right. He was very good at delegating."[37]

Of course Eduardo could not all the time be on the "shop floor." There were days when he had to be in Madrid seeking the support of banks and other backers for his multitudinous projects. He had with Valeriano to visit ministries and try to persuade Falangista civil servants to abandon their hostility to him. Further, 3HC lorries available for transformation into diesel-powered engines, still his main work, were beginning to run out. Sometimes Eduardo would write to people who, he thought, had such vehicles crying out for his attention: for example, Colonel Prado y Prado, colonel of engineers of Lugo, to whom he wrote in March 1953: "It has come to our knowledge that you have in your regiment [that is, in the barracks of Lugo] various lorries with the designation 3HC, which by taking advantage of our patent no. 197417 could be converted into excellent diesel motors. We have already transformed more than 2,000 motors. The price

for transformations is 65,000 pesetas but as a beginning we are prepared to do this for you for 55,000."[38]

To compensate the lack of 3HCs, Eduardo proposed to make diesel motors that could be used in the Fords and Chevrolets that at that time constituted nearly the whole holding of lorries in the country. That was because of the large number of such General Motors products entering Spain in consequence of the new arrangements made so cleverly with the United States. These were generally robust vehicles with three axles, but they were not so easily "dieselised" as the Russian lorries had been, even though those had been inspired originally by General Motors.

The profound United States involvement in Spain began in 1953. First, there was a mutual aid loan of $62.5 million in January.[39] But in the autumn there was a larger loan of $1,688 million as well as $521 million in military assistance. Spain also received financial credits and would be able to buy U.S. raw materials at reduced prices. The United States in return would have the use of three air bases and one naval base.

The agreement with the United States was a triumph for Franco—it makes no sense to deny that—and he was able to overlook the denunciation of it by Cardinal Segura from his pulpit in Seville as being the product of "dollars of heresy."[40] James Dunn, the U.S. ambassador who had done much to restore U.S. relations with Spain (he had been at the Department of State's Spanish desk during the civil war), addressed the chamber of commerce of Seville in September. He pointed out that financial aid would come gradually. Economic aid (defence support) would include aid to Spanish agriculture, industry, and transport. It would allow the import of carefully chosen raw materials. In February 1954, the building of the bases and other installations began.[41]

These large U.S. investments, even when they were military in character, assisted the civilian world of which Eduardo Barreiros was such a remarkable example. It was a wonderful time for a young entrepreneur in Spain with mechanical innovation on his mind. Eduardo hoped to be able both to benefit from and to make a contribution to the modernisation of Spain. He believed that his motors would be proved just as appropriate for agricultural as well as industrial activity. Thus at Villaverde he devised a new motor, the EB 1 bis, to suit tractors.

Eduardo's idea of making tractors was, however, rejected by the Ministry of Industry. He commented drily, in a draft memoir: "This year [1954] we tried to make tractors but permission was refused."[42] It was the government that was making a mistake, for at that time, there was no national manufacture of tractors in Spain. There were only 13,000 tractors in the country in 1951, 20,000 in 1955.[43] The decision to refuse the application of Eduardo was made by civil servants in

the Ministries of Industry, Commerce, and Agriculture (probably meeting together) with the sombre figure and influence of Suanzes, director of INI, in the background. Was the rejection the consequence of these ministries' being happy with their arrangements with the English firms of Massey Fergusson and Deere? Was it a matter of corruption? These after all were the days when the official car park, PMM (Parque Móvil de Ministerios), was nicknamed "Para mi mujer" (for my wife) because of the number of officials' wives who used their husband's cars and chauffeurs for their shopping and to take children to school. Actually, soon after Eduardo's application was refused, Ford Motor Ibérica was given authority to build tractors as well as lorries, so it was not surprising that Eduardo was refused permission to go ahead.[44]

It was not only in respect of tractors that Eduardo met a negative response from the authorities. For example, in December 1952 he asked for permission to import 100 injection pumps (*bombas de inyección*) necessary for his motors. That request too was rejected in January 1953.[45]

These setbacks brought Eduardo for the first time face to face with the real character of the government. The wise journalist Fernando Onega, born in Lugo, later wrote, "When he came to Madrid, Eduardo found himself facing the unknown—a political regime which, despite defending the idea of national industrial activity, gave no space to private initiative and, still living with the ideology of national syndicalism, believed far more in the protector state than in the individual creator. It was an economic system that functioned badly."[46]

Ministers such as Arburúa at Commerce or Cavestany at Agriculture had no personal hostility to Eduardo, who (as they would have learned) had fought bravely for the nationalists in the civil war and who to any unprejudiced observer was obviously an original entrepreneur. Cavestany was indeed a man determined to do everything to wrench Spanish agriculture into a new era.[47] But Suanzes at Industry still had an ideological prejudice against private industry, especially where motors were concerned, and he certainly seems too to have had a dislike of Eduardo. Perhaps the phobia was the natural suspicion of a citizen of Corunna for an Orensano. But it cannot be such a simple matter. His successor and protégé, Colonel Planell, shared many of his prejudices—even if he knew and admired the United States, where he had once been military attaché. Cavestany in the Ministry of Agriculture had been president of the national syndicate of fruit growers after the civil war, but that could not have filled him with a hostility towards a would-be new manufacturer of tractors. Each of the ministers concerned probably had some kind of prejudice in favour of old friends who had been hitherto responsible for the import of the objects concerned and with

whom through the prevailing "*amiguismo*," the "old boys" network, they may have been linked with informally or even financially.

Eduardo had left Enrique Domínguez Amenedo, a childhood friend, in charge of his old workshop in Orense. Then, when Domínguez Amenedo came to Madrid, he was succeeded by Manuel Gómez Masid, another old associate of Eduardo's. As early as 1930, that individual had aspired to be a judge in Eduardo's home of Nogueira de Ramuín. In the civil war, like Eduardo senior, he had been a caballero of Santiago. He then became the secretary at the town hall in Orense. Later, he was administrator of the municipality of Nogueira de Ramuín.

Eduardo wrote an optimistic letter to him in December 1953: "The Minister [of Agriculture—that is, Cavestany] is very interested, above all now that a tractor with a good record is finishing its tests. . . . A few days ago we were visited for a similar reason by Sr Polo [Felipe Polo], the brother-in-law of the Caudillo recommended by Don Fernando the cardinal [Fernando Quiroga Palacios, archbishop of Santiago 1949, cardinal 1953] and his friend Arturo, who in turn is very friendly with Sr Lobo [Lieutenant-Colonel Constantino Lobo], who is also very close to the offices. We were very impressed with this visit."[48]

This letter shows that Eduardo was beginning to realise the hard truth that talent and a capacity for work were not the only things that counted in the regime of General Franco. Friendships played their part.

Do we blame Eduardo for the realisation? Exiles alone are in a position to do that, nor, to be honest, can it be said at that stage that their proud isolation made much impression on Spanish life. Given that Eduardo was determined to work in Spain rather than go to America, he had no alternative. These are momentous matters, not at all easy to resolve satisfactorily for the benefit of later generations.

In early 1953, meanwhile, Eduardo decided that he should after all follow the advice of Manuel González, still his chief and patient Orensano creditor, and seek to establish himself and his brothers as a limited company. He looked for partners but, for a time, could not find the right ones. In the end, "Barreiros Diesel," as the company was christened, was founded in March 1954 and the partners were at first Eduardo himself (6,000 shares), Valeriano (2,800 shares), Eduardo senior (4,000 shares), and Dorinda (the same), to whom were added José María Gredilla, who subscribed 5,600 shares, and Manuel Soto Rodríguez, who subscribed 800 shares.

Gredilla was a chemist who in 1954 directed an export-import business.

Soto Rodríguez was a man of "absolute confidence" of Eduardo and would have given his life for him, according to a colleague, Fernández Quintas.

A few months later, another old Orensano friend of Eduardo's, Enrique Domínguez Amenedo, who had managed his enterprise in Orense after 1952, also joined the board, subscribing another 800 shares.

All these shareholders deposited their respective contributions in cash before the formal act constituting the company—with the exception of Eduardo himself, who in compensation for paying only 25 percent of their value for his shares, gave the company first his patents of conversion to diesel; second, the Barreiros commercial emblem to distinguish motors "de explosion" from "motores de combustión interna";[49] and third, a rural property producing wine in Orense as well as various buildings at Formotelleiro and Portorello within the capital totalling twenty-one acres (2,100 square metres).

The board of directors was constituted, to begin with, simply by Eduardo, Eduardo senior, and Valeriano. The aim of the company was proclaimed in Article 2 of its constitution as being concerned with "the exploitation of the industry of the transformation of petrol engines to Diesel in the way specified in the Patent of the undertaking." Thirty-six articles followed about how the company should be run.[50]

The new company decided to make its sales through another new company, CREFISA (Créditos y financiaciones) with a capital of three million pesetas, concerned to sell motors by instalments. Eduardo was especially interested in the latter because he saw that that idea would become important in the future. The president of the company was General Rafael Álvarez Serrano, who had been until recently military governor of Badajoz, while the managing director was Pedro García de Zúñiga Mochales, a Madrid lawyer occupied in the repair of motor cars and also in the import of BSA motors (British Small Arms, which in addition made pistols and motorcycles).[51] CREFISA would make 15 percent on the sale of motors, 25 percent on other sales such as spare parts and accessories. They planned to sell Eduardo's EB-4 motor for 60,000 pesetas and his EB-6 for 90,000. CREFISA made an advance of 600,000 pesetas to Eduardo, who committed himself to make seventy motors for sale every three months: that is, 280 a year, which was an increase on existing sales.[52] This seemed highly promising at first sight. It was of course an impressive beginning.

Eduardo was at this time deep in a critical negotiation: he was asking for help from the Banco de Vizcaya. At that time that bank was the strongest of the Basque banks and very active in Madrid. It had been the most successful Basque bank in Spain during the early part of the century. It offered a loan to Eduardo that he said was too little, but this event marked a turning point in his life. For Tomás de Bordegaray, then general manager of the bank, offered Barreiros a larger loan, with a personal guarantee.

As this action shows, Bordegaray was a far from conventional individual. His education had not been in a university or school of advanced study, where most successful bank directors go, but in Chile, in the country, where he had been a shepherd—and where he learned German from the liberal Germans whom he met there. Presumably he talked to his president, the conde de Cadagua (Pedro Careaga), before he made his commitment to Eduardo. All the same, the decision was Bordegaray's.

The Banco de Vizcaya was already a shareholder in Citroën Hispania. Bordegaray now wanted to set up a new network of distributors to sell Barreiros Diesel's products, using his friends to help. Bordegaray, who was a director (*consejero*) of many companies, ensured that for the time being, money was always available to Eduardo through a subsidiary of the Banco de Vizcaya, the Financiera Española. He firmly believed in Eduardo's star. He could see that the manufacture of motors (not just the transformation of petrol-using ones) would play an important part in Spain in future. Bordegaray soon became, recalled a colleague of his, Joaquín Nebreda, "indispensable." Nebreda and Bordegaray together introduced Eduardo to everyone whom they thought he ought to know in Madrid at a time when Eduardo, according to that same Nebreda, surely exaggerating somewhat, "did not know where the Calle Alcalá was."[53] Within a few years, Barreiros Diesel would have its executive offices on that very street.

18

The Vehicle of Progress

Consider the position of Eduardo when he reached the age of thirty-five in October of 1954. He and his family, including his parents, had made, as so many Gallegos before them had done, a happy adjustment to living in Madrid. The Barreiroses made of the Calle Ferraz one more colony of Orense near the centre of Madrid. The always-growing fábrica on the road to Andalusia at Villaverde was for Eduardo a home away from home though Valeriano, his essential administrative adviser, usually still worked from a room in the flat in the Calle Ferraz.

In the mid-1950s, as we have seen, Eduardo had about 150 or so workers under his command in Villaverde. Though that was a modest number in comparison with those who would later work there, that made him head of an enterprise larger than anything that existed in Orense, where the biggest factory, that of Malingre, probably had no more than fifty workers in the 1950s. By 1957 the workers in Villaverde numbered about 1,400, of whom about 30 percent were what might be considered professionals, while the rest were people of country origin, with an agricultural background.[1] Most were men in their twenties or early thirties and so had not fought in the civil war, though all would have some memory of it from their childhood. Eduardo entertained all these workers, with his brothers and parents, at a dinner in the restaurant Angulo in Villaverde in July 1956.[2] The menu surely would have included a *caldo gallego*.

The plant was then still about 4,000 square yards in size. It was made up of about fifteen or twenty two-storey buildings, each about two hundred square yards large, made from prefabricated blocks with windows of concrete. It will be remembered that the board of Barreiros Diesel had agreed to buy another 16,000 square yards to house a new shed, of more than 1,100 square yards. Eduardo hoped for an even larger principality. He was already approaching several landowners whose properties abutted his own. Most were farmers. Eduardo told

them that he expected one day to buy their land so that his industrial undertaking would cover 500,000 square yards.[3]

The workers in these new industrial premises were in 1955 making three motors a day, or more than 1,000 a year, having made a mere 237 in 1954. The increase in production was extraordinary. In 1956, the figure would be 3,494. In 1957, that figure rose to 4,416. These motors were the EB-6, with its six cylinders, or the EB-4, which had four. They sold as a rule at 90,000 pesetas and 60,000 pesetas, respectively. They were intended primarily for light lorries.

The consequence was that the turnover of Barreiros Diesel rose spectacularly. In 1954 it had been 11.25 million pesetas, in 1955 it had risen to 51.50 million, in 1956 to 240 million, and the following year, it stood at almost 500 million.[4] The shareholders in 1957 distributed 50 million pesetas among them: Eduardo and his brothers with their associates were becoming rich.

At the end of 1955, Eduardo's friend Ricardo Martín Esperanza, the long-serving and good-natured president of the Caja de Ahorros of Orense, visited Villaverde with his wife, Vicente Pérez López. He could not contain his excitement. Manuel Gómez Masid, the manager of the workshop in the Avenida Buenos Aires in Orense ("Factoría 1"), wrote to Eduardo, "On my return [from Madrid], Don Ricardo Martín Esperanza and his wife telephoned to say what a tremendous surprise and satisfaction it had been for them to see the gigantic size of the new factory [of Eduardo] and the various other buildings which now accompany it. They talked and talked reflecting the view that it is now one of the first industries in Spain and so says all the world, both there in Madrid and here in Orense in the club."[5]

Eduardo had been helped in the past by "Caito" Martín Esperanza, who had lent him 100,000 pesetas in 1951. Eduardo still had that and other debts in Galicia. But he had paid them all off by the end of 1957: thus, his generous uncle Manuel Rodríguez was finally paid his 200,000 pesetas in July 1956; his old friend Elías González Vázquez was paid 50,000 pesetas by the end of that year. Another creditor, Manuel Capela Gómez, the lawyer of Orense, of which province he was for a time "secretario judicial" was repaid 43,000 pesetas in 1956. Finally, in January 1957 Eduardo repaid the patient blacksmith Manuel González. The last sum that was owed to him by Eduardo was 18,200 pesetas. (Eduardo's debt to him had, however, been much higher in previous years.)[6]

The new motor, the EB-6, was a triumph. But that did not prevent it causing difficulties for Eduardo with INI. Indeed, the success ensured the difficulties. For Wilfredo Ricart, the chief engineer and founder of CETA (Centro de Estudios Técnicos del Automóvil), the research department of INI's car company, ENASA, denounced Eduardo's motor as having been "copied without authori-

sation" from the English firm of Perkins.[7] Now, Ricart was a formidable enemy.[8] He was in his way a genius. He was an ally, as well as a protégé, of Suanzes. He had in 1954 himself designed a light truck for ENASA, the "Barajas," so called because ENASA's plant was near the airport of that name. The Barajas was the first Spanish industrial vehicle that owed nothing to the old Hispano Suiza tradition (unlike the first models of Pegaso, which was merely a revision of the old Hispano Suiza model).[9] It took, however, many years to produce it satisfactorily. Ricart had also built a beautiful diesel V-6 engine, and the truck in which he put it was well made. But it was expensive. What the Spanish economy needed at that time was Eduardo's simple construction: "just four wheels and an engine," as the astute Sir Diarmid Downs of the English firm Ricardo put it.[10]

It was true that Eduardo had studied Perkins's P-6 before he made his own EB-6, and Perkins in Peterborough had never imagined that anyone in Spain could think of making such motors as theirs. It is also true that in 1954 Perkins Hispania had been formed on the road to Saragossa, with the aim of selling Perkins motors there. Its first president, not altogether surprising in those days of "amiguismo," was Antonio Torres Espinosa, who had been undersecretary of commerce. The group had the modest aim of selling five hundred Perkins P-6 motors. The scheme did not prosper since Perkins in England took no interest and simply allowed its licence to be used.[11]

A year later, Eduardo wrote to Colonel Planell, the minister of industry, explaining that Perkins had "approached us in 1956 because they were anxious lest our motors would ruin their exports in Spain. At first, we had not been against collaboration with them because we thought a combination between Perkins and Barreiros would open up possibilities of exports and Barreiros wanted foreign currency. But Perkins forbade such exports, and we could not accept that."[12]

At the end of December 1955, Eduardo put in a new request to the Ministry of Industry for permission to make trucks.[13] Such an application was necessary under the terms of the Law for the Protection of Industry of 1939. Eduardo added, in this submission, that he was still hoping to be able to reach an agreement with Perkins since he thought that it would open up markets in Latin America and in the Middle East. Eduardo said that he was ready to work with Perkins, perhaps paying a royalty or perhaps creating a firm in which Perkins would have a 25 percent share (the permitted percentage for foreign firms under the law of 1939).[14]

As usual, a positive reply did not come. Indeed, no reply came at all for months. Eventually in March 1956, Sirvent, Suanzes' deputy at INI, wrote to Eduardo saying that he could not allow him to do anything that might damage INI's truck-making enterprises; ENASA, for that company, according to the same law,

was "a company of national interest." Eduardo replied that he thought ENASA alone to be incapable of satisfying the national demand, which, he calculated, approached 25,000 trucks and 1,300 buses every year. A private note by Planell on a summary of Barrieros Diesel's petition sent in yet again in November of the same year declared that the matter "should remain in suspense for an indefinite time."[15]

There the matter rested until June 1956, when two representatives of Sir Harry Ricardo of London, Diarmuid Downs and Martin Howell, visited Barreiros in Villaverde. They looked at the EB-6: at what Ricart had personally told them to be an "unauthorised copy of the Perkins."

In the 1950s, Sir Harry Ricardo was considered the prince of designers of motors in England. He had assisted Eduardo with his "pseudo-Perkins," as Ricardo's engineers offensively put it. His assistants, Diarmuid Downs and Cliff Walder, visited Eduardo on his behalf every year after 1956, helping to modernise the A-26 motor (the pseudo-Perkins) with the "precámara" of Ricardo.

Soon after the first visit of Ricardo's men, Eduardo asked for a ten times' increase of his existing licence to make motors with a right to export half of them. The Sindicato Nacional del Metal and the Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda (who would have benefited since Eduardo planned to build 1,000 homes for the workers who would have been employed) were in favour. But ENASA and Motor Ibérica were predictably against any such concession. So was the English company of Babcock Wilcox (Babcock Wilcox of Bilbao, which, though its usual products were steam kettles, also made trucks between 1953 and 1956).

An interesting role in those days in Barreiros Diesel was played by another native of Orense, indeed from Bouza on the Sil, near the Amande vineyard, a hamlet of three or four houses, some miles beyond Parada del Sil. This was Manolo Gómez, known in the fábrica as "Manoliño." At three years old, he had gone to Castro Caldelas in Pontevedra, where he spent his childhood. He returned to Orense in 1952 and bought a truck to carry fish from Vigo to Madrid and also Vigo to Barcelona.

What an important part was played in those days by these fish-bearing lorries! Sometimes it seemed as if the Spanish transport system was organised precisely as to enrich the lunch tables of the great restaurants of the capital!

Gómez's lorry was an interesting construction, since one piece of it was of one make, another from another. It derived, however, basically from General Motors. "The work," he recalled, "was delicate. With our fish on ice, we would set off, at 12 noon or 1 P.M. from Vigo with a 5,000-kilo load. We planned to be in Madrid by 8 A.M. Otherwise, the buyer would not pay for the journey. The journey to Barcelona took twenty-four hours longer. In those days the roads were very

bad. We would have half a sandwich at 10 P.M. and another half at 3 A.M. But it was impossible to stop for this because of the requirement to be at our destination at the right time."[16]

One day his engine broke down. Manolo wanted to buy a Perkins or a Henschel to replace his General Motors. "But I didn't have the money. I asked my father for a loan but he wasn't keen to help. Eduardo [whom he already knew] then offered to sell me a truck with a motor *transformado*, an EB 1." The motor was fitted, Manolo had high hopes for it, but when tested, it exploded. Eduardo repaired it again but, with this, Manolo could not get to Madrid, and for a time he performed local journeys with vegetables and fruit in the interior of Galicia. In a year or so, he sold the "new" lorry to Eduardo for 350,000 pesetas and bought from him a new one, with a new engine. ("New," in a manner of speaking, "for it had a chassis of a Ford, an axle of a Hispano Suiza, a motor of Henschel transformed into diesel in the same way that the first examples in Castellón had been done, and also a differential of Ford!".)[17] Eduardo did not charge him for this vehicle on condition that on the truck the name "Barreiros" would be written as a good piece of propaganda.

Now again Manolo Gómez began his Vigo-Madrid journeys. It was hard work and often along poor roads—including some south of Orense that had been made or repaired by Eduardo and BECOSA. But it was lucrative and, occasionally, when he was short of money, Eduardo would advance him small sums. When Eduardo and the other Barreiroses came to live in Madrid, Manolo took furniture from Orense to the Calle Ferraz. He performed other, no less important work: he smuggled useful objects for Eduardo from Portugal and even England, pumps in particular. "Eduardo would be waiting at Villaverde for these things. He would pay me from his private account."[18] Raymond Carr rightly speaks of the truck as "the vehicle of progress."[19]

Apart from its difficulties with the Ministry and with INI, Barreiros Diesel had other problems. One derived from its relation with CREFISA, which Barreiros Diesel had made responsible for sales. CREFISA asked for too high a commission. Then there were anxieties in respect of injection pumps, which had to be imported and so paid for in hard currency—to which Eduardo had no access; third, Eduardo's motors had occasionally to be held back before their sale for lack of an essential electrical element, such as a starter or a dynamo.

Eduardo tried to resolve such matters by founding new companies of his own to make what was necessary. Here we detect the hand not only of the practical-minded Valeriano but also that of Tomás de Bordegaray, who seems to have conceived the solution.

Of course, Eduardo and Valeriano already had set up one company, apart from Barreiros Diesel: BECOSA, the construction business founded in 1942, which was still active on the roads of Galicia as in Castellón, where the sea wall was being completed, and also in Cartagena, where in November 1956, they had agreed to expand the *muelle* called after Admiral Bastarreche in the *dársena* of Escombreras.

The arrangements made with CREFISA for sales broke down early in 1957. Pedro García de Zúñiga, a Madrid lawyer who had been managing director (*consejero delegado*) of the firm, retired in December 1955 because of a dispute with Eduardo over the prices of the EB-6. He soon became the director-general of Perkins Hispania. The world seemed as ever a handkerchief, as Spaniards would say.

With the encouragement of Bordegaray, the Barreiros brothers now established their own sales company, El Motor Nacional (MOSA). This was set up in January 1957 with a capital of 5.5 million pesetas but expanded to 15 million within six months. The Barreiros brothers held half the shares (45 percent), while the Banco de Vizcaya through the Financiera Española had 20 percent. Bordegaray himself had a tiny personal involvement, while a friend of his, Guillermo Rahn Eilers, a German businessman established in the Canary Islands, had 5 percent. Eduardo secured an efficient director-general, José Luis Albert Rodríguez, who had earlier been civil governor (and "jefe provincial" of the "movement") in Orense. CREFISA remained for a time the distributor of Barreiros products for Castile (Ávila, Guadalajara, Segovia, Toledo, Valladolid), while MOSA would be concerned with sales in Madrid and soon, with over a hundred centres, would expand to cover the rest of the country.[20]

To solve the second problem, that of ensuring the regular supply of the all-important injection pumps (Eduardo called these the "heart of the motor"),[21] Eduardo set about establishing a small Compañía de Bombas (CABSA) in January 1955. Permission was given to make pumps, but not injection pumps. This firm was in the first instance directed by that old friend of Eduardo's from Orense, Enrique Domínguez Amenedo. As has been seen, he had also 800 shares at this time in Barreiros Diesel.

CABSA was soon making all the pumps necessary for Eduardo's motors. It was the first factory in Spain to carry out this work, for INI had an agreement with Bosch of Germany to make (and import) everything of this kind which they needed.[22]

CABSA had soon its own difficulties. It had been established first in the Calle Hermenegildo Bielsa, in a suburb of Madrid. The neighbours, however, complained of the noise. Eduardo made representations to the deputy mayor, Felipe

Gómez Acebo, of a family that soon would have its members very well placed in Spain (including in Eduardo's own circle). But it was to no avail, and the factory had to move to Villaverde, where it was soon established in Shed 9. There Eduardo asked permission to double his production from 3,600 to 7,200 pumps a year, which would have needed the import of 18,000 "elementos de inyección" and other valves totalling 8.5 million pesetas a year. Once again ENASA opposed him, on this occasion because their own contract with Robert Bosch covered what they considered all necessities. Domínguez Amenedo wrote back that ENASA could not monopolise all the industries of Spain. Was it not time to shake the country out of its inferiority complex that affected so much of national production? In that spirit, Enrique Jarillo visited France (Lavallette Bosch) and Italy (SPICA) to see how they did their work and how Spain could learn from them.[23]

Third, to cope with his electrical shortages, Eduardo began frequenting industrial fairs all over Europe. Soon he decided to develop a plan of his own for "integral *producción*," that is, the manufacture of all the components he needed: in particular, dynamos, starters, and throttles.[24] He sought to be entirely independent without relying on any supplier and therefore avoid payment of any royalty. He would make screws as well as cylinders, pumps as well as wheels. Today, with manufacturers of vehicles producing themselves only about 35 percent of the parts which they need, the rest of the required parts being the product of other factories, an approach of this nature would seem out of the question, but at that time it was an immensely ambitious innovation.

This change motivated Eduardo to create CEESA (Constructora Eléctrica Española S.A.) on January 3, 1957. Once more, the Barreiros family had the most shares. Once more, too, the Banco de Vizcaya, through their subsidiary FICISA (Financiera Industrial Comercial S.A.), played an essential part. The company was established in the workshop of Manuel Torres Carpintero, who had a permission to make electrical products in 41 Nicolás Sánchez Street in Madrid (they soon moved to 7 Hierro Street, nearby, both streets being close to Hermenegildo Bielsa and near the Plaza de Legazpi). Eduardo took over this workshop and in April arranged that the Minister of Industry should transfer the permission for its function to him. That sounds easy enough, but in those days a transfer of ownership of that kind entailed hours of waiting by Valeriano in ministerial reception rooms.

Throughout these years, regular meetings were, of course, held both of the new boards of Barreiros Diesel and of shareholders. On June 20, 1955, we find a minute written by Valeriano about a general meeting of shareholders: the aim was to increase the capital to 20 million pesetas.[25] But that figure implied only the Bar-

reiros family and two or three more persons. On November 25 there was another meeting of shareholders, where it was decided that they would put into circulation 20,000 shares to existing shareholders at the nominal value of 500 pesetas.[26]

Finally it was agreed that the board of directors would henceforth consist of three shareholders as a minimum and ten as a maximum, foreign persons or entities being acceptable (that now being permitted under the law). The directors,[27] who would each receive 5,000 pesetas a month as income, would last for four years. The board had to meet at least once a month. To be a director, one had to have at least fifty shares.[28] The board of Barreiros Diesel approved all this a few days later.[29]

Thus we see the improvisations of a family firm of Orense turning itself into a conventional company of Madrid.

Soon afterward, on December 3, 1955, a new board of directors was established. The most important new name was that of Bordegaray, Eduardo's friend in the Banco de Vizcaya. His participation, like his friendship, continued to be essential.

But the new board also included other, in some ways even more interesting, names. One was General Francisco Franco Salgado, "Pacón" in the Franco family, a cousin of General Franco's who had, until recently, been chief of the military household of the head of state and was even now his private secretary. He and the editor of *La Vanguardia* of Barcelona, Luis Galinsoga, had just finished a well-informed but uncritical biography of Franco, *Centinela de Occidente*, published by the Editorial AHR Barcelona.[30] He naturally saw the Generalísimo often. For example, on December 1, two days before his first meeting as a director of Barreiros Diesel, he was with General Franco when the ambassador of Saudi Arabia presented his credentials, and, on December 6, he lunched with the Franco family at El Pardo. He had been with his cousin throughout the civil war and afterwards was one of his closest advisers.[31]

Another new name on the board was Colonel (soon to be general) Constantino Lobo Montero, president of the Gallego center in Madrid, and sometime military governor of Corunna. As we have seen, he had married a cousin of Franco and had been for a time ADC (*ayudante*) to Franco Salgado. Lobo was also the state's representative in the brotherhood of "provisional lieutenants"—an association that had a substantial political importance in those days.

The inclusion of these two directors could not have been decided because of their commercial or mechanical knowledge. Their presence was to show that Eduardo was not just a respectable new entrepreneur but one approved of by the regime and so presumably capable of gaining the right contracts. Who suggested these names is uncertain. Bordegaray? Probably, even if later on we find him

telling Eduardo and Valeriano not to "cede to pressure to have people with no experience as members of the board."[32] Eduardo was talking of Lobo as "a great friend" as early as March 1955. Lobo's activities were largely confined to making suggestions for new staff on behalf of his friends or his friends' friends. Probably Valeriano had encountered these eminent persons at one of his clubs or *peñas*.

Other new directors included Antonio Melchor de las Heras and Guillermo Rahn Eilers, both well-known businessmen associated with the Banco de Vizcaya and both brought in by Bordegaray. Another prominent Basque businessman, Miguel Guinea Elorza, joined Eduardo's board in 1957. The reserved José María Gredilla Trigo remained. Barreiros Diesel might remain an "empresa familiar," but it now had some powerful political support.[33]

How Eduardo managed to persuade such men as these to serve on his board is mysterious. Franco Salgado and Lobo were not young men looking for opportunities of quick wealth: they were mature, conventional individuals at the heart of the regime.

Also on Bordegaray's suggestion, Eduardo sought in 1957 a director-general of the company. He offered that appointment to Claudio Boada Villalonga of INI. What better than to find a commander from the ranks of the enemy?

Eduardo offered him a salary of 25,000 pesetas a month, as well as payments during the year of two supplementary monthly salaries: a total of 350,000 pesetas a year. That was three times what Pegaso paid. In addition an "appropriate" car and chauffeur would be available to him, and a rented house or apartment for 4,000 pesetas would be paid for by the company.

At that time, that kind of offer was rarely made in Spain. Boada was shocked and did not accept. Instead, a young lawyer of promise, Pío Cabanillas, became secretary-general.[34] No director-general was named.

One of the more interesting appointments in Barreiros Diesel of that time was that of Horacio Pérez Vázquez, an Extremeño married to a Catalan but who by now, like so many of provincial origin of that time, considered himself as a citizen of Madrid. He was a metallurgist. After university, he went to work in INTA (Instituto Nacional de Técnica Aeronáutica), the research arm of the Ministry of Defence. His boss there was Colonel Rafael Calvo Rodés, then the best-known metallurgist of Spain.[35] Aged about thirty, Pérez Vázquez became head of a military *laboratorio óptico*. Two broken crankshafts were handed to him. What had gone wrong? He decided that they had been broken by "metal fatigue." He made the same judgement in relation to five similar items that were sent to him. He decided to talk about them with Eduardo in his office in the Calle Ferraz. There, while listening to Eduardo's ideas, he made various suggestions for improving management of the business.

The consequence was that Eduardo asked him to work for him full time, but Pérez Vázquez found INTA a satisfying place in which to work and Colonel Calvo was very interesting, so he thought that he would remain there. But Eduardo persuaded him to work for him two afternoons a week, and he agreed, since he only worked at INTA from 8:30 to 2:30—a typical Spanish working day at that time for a state official. Soon Horacio found himself working with Eduardo not two afternoons a week but every afternoon and most Saturdays and Sundays as well. Shortly after that, Horacio did leave INTA because the atmosphere at Barreiros was then so exciting. He recalls, "The growth of Barreiros at that time was spectacular. Eduardo never gave up, he never admitted defeat, he knew exactly how to treat people, and his great success was to surround himself with a team of dedicated collaborators. He thought that one should be generous and he gave a good example of it. With him, the 'gallego soul' was always there—the habits—the 'way of talking.' That was eternal. He was, though, an 'open gallego.' He did not seem to have friends outside his work. He never had a holiday."[36]

In those years, Eduardo was surrounded by ambitious young workers similar to the character named Urbano in Antonio Buero Vallejo's contemporary play *Historia de una escalera:* "And I will make myself perfect in machinery and gain more."[37]

19

Onward, Barreiros!

¡Adelante, Barreiros, adelante!

—General Franco to Eduardo Barreiros in 1957

Genius is not only a matter of an infinite capacity for taking pains. It is also one of being able to seize an opportunity when it presents itself. In 1957 there came just such a chance for Eduardo, who learned, probably through Ricardo Martín Esperanza of the Caja de Ahorros of Orense (and he through Javier Quiroga, of Empresas Reunidas of Puente Canedo just outside the capital to the west), that the Portuguese Ministry of Defence needed three hundred new trucks to serve their armies in Mozambique and Angola. A competition was arranged. As we have seen, Eduardo at that time had no licence to make trucks. All the same, he made a prototype of a four-by-four all-terrain (*todoterreno*) vehicle. He applied to take part in the competition. Mercedes, ACLO, and Bedford also announced their participation. There were other English participants.

Eduardo's prototype was of course built in Villaverde. Eduardo himself did the hard work, assisted by a specialist named Antonio Rama, and by an old constructor of hearses (*coches de pompas fúnebres*) named Francisco Frutos ("Paco"). In the preparations for the test itself, Eduardo was also supported by a workshop attendant, an "*encargado de taller*," Benjamín.[1] The lorry, commented Mario Gamarra, an engineer who was charged to make the initial design of the vehicle, was "a mixture of a convertible and a coupé. It had both a canvas and a rigid, sheet steel top; the latter, removable, had a small window to look out of.[2] Its appearance was imposing, almost ferocious; it was frightening to see it in motion and, when it tackled a nearly 45-degree slope, it seemed certain to tip over. In front of the radiator, forming part of the grille, it had an enormous, thick flatiron."[3]

The wheels of the truck were 600 millimetres thick. The originality of the wheels, known as "Lipsoyds," was that they were very heavy. These wheels are now in general use for tractors, but at that time no one was interested in using them for trucks.

The truck, Gamarra went on, was "an essentially hand-crafted prototype, built in a way that would have driven a German engineer to despair. . . . The power trains came from a Douglas tow truck, the winch from a GMC (General Motors) truck, one of those from World War II that [Juan] March had bought from the Americans in 1947. The steering . . . was by Ross, of the 'paraboloidical spindle' type, which later on would be sketched to make it standard. The homokinetic joints, transmissions, reduction gearing and many other components had been taken from other vehicles. The front axle was connected to the frame—through the suspension—by a peculiar arm, an arrangement that enabled the lorry to hug any type of ground. . . . The only thing in any way special about the engine, a 90-hp EB-6, was the casing that connected it to the gearbox . . . The bed and the cab, made of rolled steel, had been built by Paco [Frutos]." The traction worked on two axles of the kind that is now called a four-by-four.

Eduardo himself recalled, "The test [in Portugal in July 1957] was very hard . . . the heat was frightful and the obstacles in the route worse. The test provided for crossing a terraced field and then an impressive gorge with a large piece of artillery in tow and three tons on top. In this test various rival companies took part, all being defeated by our prototype. On the sandy terrace I had to tow one of the trucks which were taking part—three came from England—up the steep slopes of the gorge, the truck at various moments with its axle in the air. The angle was 90 degrees. None of the other trucks dared to take part in this risky and very difficult challenge. I was our pilot."[4]

The "four-wheel drive" with which Eduardo won the competition was not really mechanically superior to its competitors. Its superiority lay in its thick tyres, which had been made by Straussler of London. But Eduardo's truck also had a "swingle-tree" (*balancín*) on the front axle that enabled the vehicle to be adapted to all irregularities of terrain.[5]

The Portuguese general staff now requested 256 such trucks from Eduardo. He sought immediately to obtain permission to do the work. First, he arranged for the new chief of his commercial section, José Antonio Carranza (who was known as the "sub-director general" of Barreiros Diesel), to write to the minister to ask permission to make 1,500 such vehicles.[6] Carranza tried to rebut the opposition.[7] Finally Eduardo went to see Colonel Planell, the minister.

"After a few minutes," Eduardo recalled, "Planell said to me, 'in view of what

you say, I give you a licence to make 2,000 units.'"[8] Eduardo thought: "Let's see who can stop me afterwards."[9]

Once the approval was formally given for the order, Eduardo immediately set about making his first truck. The prototype, which had been so well tested, remained in the fábrica, being nicknamed the grandfather, *el abuelo*, and carried out duties there.[10] At much the same time, Eduardo also agreed with Harry Ricardo in England to make a light diesel engine for use in Madrid taxis.

The economical but tough truck of Barrieros showed itself much more suitable for Spain of that time than the so-called Barajas, the luxurious and technologically advanced truck promoted by Ricart for Pegaso.[11] (The Barajas cost 540,000 pesetas, the Barreiros 300,000.) Urged on, it would seem by his co-director, General Franco Salgado, Eduardo now asked for an audience of General Franco to demonstrate to him his (military) truck. The idea was accepted.

General Franco, at that time sixty-five years old, is a man hard to come to understand. His personality eludes both hagiographical biographers, who forget his harshness, and critics, who cannot forgive his successes. The future Socialist minister Jorge Semprún said of Franco: "All the evidence gathered about the mediocrity of Franco is certain and undeniable. But yet at the same time someone capable of maintaining himself in power, of manoeuvring so well, of neutralising so many enemies over so long a period, and in the middle of such an historic evolution [must have had some qualities]. Franco had in fact a psychologically important attribute: a provincial character, a melancholy, galdosian, prudence in the sense of being able to measure things well."[12]

Five things can perhaps be said of General Franco. First, he was primarily a military man who believed, or persuaded himself, that he had been called upon to compensate for the many errors made by politicians.

Second, for him, as for his opponents, the civil war that began in 1936 and in whose origin he had played no part did not end in 1939. Prisoners of war were to be made to work, and if they had committed crimes — and, by any standards, many had — they should be punished, even executed. Weakness or magnanimity in the face of the enemy was not acceptable.

Third, Franco was, according to his own lights, an idealist who was determined to improve the standard of living of Spaniards if only in order to avoid any further protests by the poor. In this respect, he had an approach comparable to that of Soviet leaders who were prepared to sacrifice a generation in a supposed long-term public interest. He also disliked democracy and admired what he believed to be efficiency: thus, in October 1957, Franco at Cartagena praised the Soviet Union's Sputnik, the result of "political unity and discipline."

Fourth, as a Spanish patriot, as he believed himself to be, he had no feeling

for, understanding of, or even interest in the rest of the world. For him another version of humanity began at the Pyrenees.

Fifth, presumably because of the sadnesses in his family in his childhood, Franco though shy[13] seems to have become a man without emotions. He had triumphed over innumerable dangers as a young man in Morocco and, though seeming to be young, had conducted himself as a hero. Everyone who knew him testified to his "frialdad." Yet, had he not been cold, he would not have lasted very long in Morocco. He was also dry even if, in old age, he showed himself fond of old friends, as of his grandchildren, and their friends.

Some time in the autumn or early winter of 1957, with a hand bandaged since it had been burned while he was preparing his lorry for this new challenge, Eduardo carried out a most successful demonstration before Franco, in El Pardo, of the big truck that had won the competition in Portugal. El Pardo, with its agreeable landscape of holm oaks and umbrella pines, was not such rough territory as that mastered by Eduardo in Portugal. But it served as well. Suanzes, the disapproving president of INI, and Colonel Planell, the minister of industry, were both present, along with other dignitaries of the regime. Franco congratulated Eduardo, who seized the moment to talk of the difficulties that he had encountered to secure permissions for his manufactures—precisely from Suanzes and Planell. Franco said, "Carry on. Everything will be arranged. Onwards, Barreiros, onwards!"[14]

"From that date," Eduardo commented later, "everything was made possible by the permissions which were given."[15]

Eduardo was grateful to General Franco for this support. This was the only occasion that Eduardo met Suanzes, despite a specific request to be received that Eduardo sent him in June 1957.[16]

That same July 1957, when Barreiros had had his great Portuguese success, marked the beginning of what became celebrated as the Spanish "stabilisation plan." That economic change was marked first by the rise in interest rates on July 22 and the creation of a committee to revise customs duties and restructure the budget. Manuel Ullastres, the new minister of commerce, shocked many—Falangistas and their spiritual successors such as Suanzes—when he declared at an industrial fair in Bilbao that for him economic liberty meant liberty to change prices.[17] The Falangists saw immediately that the policies of these ministers spelled the end of "the tempting, beautiful and risky adventure of creating a uniquely Spanish riposte to the economic problems of the time."[18]

Early in 1958, the ministers of finance and commerce, Navarro Rubio and Ullastres, with the secretary to the president, Laureano López Rodó, who came to be known as "the technocrats," began to sketch the outline for a new programme

of economic liberalisation. Navarro Rubio sent a questionnaire to directors of leading state agencies asking for their reaction if there were to be a liberalisation of the autarchic policies in the interests of international economic cooperation. Most significant, the syndical organisation (now, most curiously, in favour of economic integration with Europe) said that they were in agreement. The Bank of Spain was more cautious, but Suanzes, Planell, and the leaders of INI were the only ones to be actively hostile.[19] The U.S. magazine *Fortune* spoke of Planell as "pressing for a return to inflation and state planning."[20]

In Spain from that time on there was an interesting dichotomy. Politics in the country remained primitive, and men and women of all ages continued to be arrested, imprisoned, or even executed without much consideration of the law. But the economy began to be modernised. Thus two Gallegos, the Ferrolano General Alonso Vega in the Ministry of the Interior, and the Pontevedrés General Barroso at the Ministry of War, were tough old soldiers. The former was the most influential of generals in the regime, more than Muñoz Grandes, and those who worked for them were often narrow minded (Colonel Enrique Fernández Eymar in the Ministry of the Interior comes to mind). But Ullastres, Navarro Rubio at the Ministry of Finance and López Rodó were educated men with good brains who, like Eduardo, knew that there was no reason why Spain's standard of living should only be a third of that of Great Britain nor that over half the Spanish population should be still working in agriculture.

20

My Boyfriend Works in Barreiros

> Private enterprise in Spain can show a good record in most of the key industries . . . on the whole, the efficiency of private firms compares favourably with that of their INI counterparts.
>
> —*D. F. Howard, British Embassy, May 9, 1949*

In the course of 1957 and 1958, Eduardo's new empire at Villaverde was still expanding. The covered area would soon be about 10,000 square yards. By 1960, the fábrica covered 80,000 square yards.[1] The buildings were still primitive, being little more than a collection of twenty sheds established on prefabricated cement blocks. There were, though, several dining rooms, for both workers and executives, the latter's refectory being open from ten in the morning, ready to serve excellent breakfasts. As well as the sheds where the serious industrial work was carried on, there were others for the administration and the sales organisation. Two sheds housed the offices of the engineers, as well as quarters for draughtsmen. These rooms were crowded with parts of motors, cranks, and the thousand other gadgets needed by the executives. At that time, the soil between the sheds had not been paved and it was easy to slip on the mud. Communication within the firm of Barreiros Diesel was by lorries for the workers and by buses for directors. Practically nobody had a car, though a few employees proudly had Vespas.

In early 1959, Valeriano Barreiros told the board of directors that a new building would soon be constructed, with a good main entrance, 130 yards long, with five floors. Eduardo, who until then had designed all such things himself, had commissioned an architect, Jacinto Vega Ramos, a Gallego (naturally) from El Ferrol then in his thirties, to design the best plan for the enterprise. In the event,

Vega Ramos withdrew and a friend of his, Aurelio Botella Clarella, succeeded him in the undertaking, being allocated a budget of 24 million pesetas. He worked on the designs of Vega Ramos. Botella Clarella would later remodel Eduardo's offices in Madrid.[2]

Nearly 1,300 workers were established at Villaverde in 1958, and Eduardo knew nearly half of them by name.[3] By 1960 these numbered 8,000 employed at Villaverde, though perhaps the figure was 6,000 in the main fábrica and 2,000 in subsidiaries.[4] In 1960 a specialised labourer in Barreiros Diesel might expect to be paid 3,000 pesetas a month, of which 2,000 would be wages and 1,000 a *prima* (bonus). This was twice as much as the average worker would receive in other comparable factories of Madrid.[5]

By this time the girlfriends of those who worked in Villaverde would often say proudly, "My novio works in Barreiros"![6]

All workers who sought to enter Barreiros Diesel had to pass a three-stage examination; first, a psychotechnical exam—that was one of Eduardo's special concerns; second, an investigation whether the worker in question had a family connection with other workers—and preference was given to those who had; and, third, a trial period, usually a month, though specialists had a testing period of three months and "*técnicos titulados*" six. Once a worker had been accepted in Villaverde, he would be given general information about the business and an instruction of a vocational nature.[7]

Most of these workers were under thirty years of age. The majority worked in manufacturing, as lathe operators, as millers, as mechanical fitters, as assemblers: men of an infinite number of specialties. There were, however, also designers and draughtsmen, responsible for working out plans on the basis of some sketch or idea of an engineer or senior executive. Some were mature men of experience. In some cases these men were ignorant of mathematics, but they were, all the same, able to understand a complicated machine. The lowest level of these workers, the unskilled labourers, or "*peones*," were known, curiously enough, as "specialists," even though they were usually the opposite of that.

Some engineers came to Barreiros Diesel attracted by the high wages and the increasing fame of the company but were unable to sustain themselves because of the heat, or the cold, the long hours of work and the general toughness of the life, not to speak of the demands that Eduardo made on them. Thus in 1956 ten engineers joined Barreiros Diesel, of whom only one, Enrique Jarillo, would survive. Those who left thought that Eduardo was excessively demanding.[8] One or two, such as Luis María Corella, who joined in 1958, had been employed in the construction of the bases deriving from the United States' defence arrangements in Spain.[9]

Mario Gamarra recalled that the heads of workshops or mechanics had risen

by merit to a place of responsibility. Often they were people without basic culture but all the same were able both to give orders and to maintain discipline. Some had "the souls of galley sergeants" and one of their pleasures was to be able to silence both people of higher rank and novices. Sometimes they sought to rise by betraying others. These were, thought Gamarra, sometimes valuable men but dangerous. Eduardo knew how to use them, which he did effectively.

From 1957 a special department for administration or "organisation" was directed by a Basque, Silvino Dorronsorro. He had been appointed since, though he was rather slow, he was sound. He hailed from Zumárraga in Guipúzcoa. Among his staff was Justo García de Vicuña, another Basque, from a village near Vitoria, a man with the unusual background of having been educated as a boarder in a Franciscan school in Peru.

In this labyrinth of energies were numerous engaging characters: for example, Agripino, "a defrocked schoolmaster dominated by his old, affected, at times quite unintelligible language. He was the chief of the boiler-making department, and exchanged without embarrassment the early reading book and the Latin grammar for the rivet and the blowlamp." Then there was Enrique Ordejón, "the Armenian," "a genial man concerned in the construction of complicated productive machines." Nor should we forget Corredoira, a Gallego who was Eduardo's interpreter, a man with one shoulder much higher than the other, a moustache in the style of Hitler, whom Feijóo remembers as "a curious man, with a degree in law," who sometimes softened the words of Eduardo or his interlocutors, and once in the United States did something so extreme along those lines that when Eduardo laughed, the interlocutors could not follow what had been said. When Eduardo realised what had happened, Corredoira was dismissed immediately.[10]

Eduardo knew very well every part of his sheds. He would still walk there every day—first to his own office, whose cement floor was now covered by splendid Persian carpets. He would then move through the fábrica from eight o'clock until one o'clock, usually accompanied by some of his closest associates, and go there again often in the evening. Perhaps he would thus cover eight or nine miles a day.[11] This *paseo* was an approach to "industrial management" that now seems "paternalistic," even "patriarchal." But it meant much not only to him but to all who worked for, or with, him. His first stop was almost always the "Project Room."

In 1957–58, the main task in Villaverde, we should remember, remained the manufacture of motors. The sale of motors was, however, more than enough to bring Eduardo enough money to enable him to undertake all kinds of research and investigation.

The two technical departments at that time were primitive. The first was dedicated to plan ways in which motors might be used. The difficulty of importing special machinery meant that everything from screws to cylinders had to be made in the fábrica. Eduardo complained of this, but he relished it too. Every section making these things was a little factory of its own. Mario Gamarra remembers that "tools of all types were on the special workbenches . . . the room was connected to the tooling shop through a small door, so that the foremen dealt directly with the draughtsmen, with whom they planned the work as they saw fit. There were two or three designers working, along with half a dozen draughtsmen and tracers, and a master technician or specialist in charge. They might all be supervised by an engineer, but the real boss was the toughest foreman."[12]

The "project section" had been established at the end of 1956. It began as an extension of the section for "*utillaje*" and was formed by people who previously had worked there. One should not forget that in those days there was no real invention; everything was in some way copied. There were Ludelas lorries, for example, but also German Kuhlmanns. There were technicians of diverse origin: exiles from the civil war, some men returning from Russia included. These, Gamarra remembered, were "well educated but silent."

Connections with other local factories making things very different from motors should be remembered. For example, a manufacturer of umbrellas and saucepans, Esmaltaciones San Ignacio, put his presses at the service of those making the cabins of the lorries for Eduardo. Other more versatile managers such as Elejebarri, in addition to making the bodywork for refrigerators, used a press to "squeeze oil in order to stamp the Panoramic cabin." Local gunsmiths, such as Ojanguren y Marcaide, made locks for Eduardo. The old firm of MMM (Manufacturas Metálicas Madrileñas) made packing cases. The Echañiz brothers (who made tapestry), the Empresa Nacional de Hélices (who made brakes), Lafarga (a super-blacksmith), Patricio Echevarría (concerned with special steels), and FEMSA (a manufacturer of magnets) all played a part. The contacts established with these businesses were often the work of Valeriano, whose administrative skills seemed every day out of the ordinary.

This being the Spain of General Franco, official unions were established in the fábrica. These "vertical syndicates" supervised the plans for production, while the "horizontal syndicates," established in every district, and backed by labour courts, controlled hours of labour, wages, and industrial disputes. No one thought that these organisations had the slightest effect on Barreiros Diesel. They existed but Eduardo lived blithely independent of them and no one reminded him if he forgot about them.

For the time being, in the long run more important unofficial unions, the clandestine Communist-organised Comisiones Obreras (CC.OO) played even less of a part. In this respect, Barreiros Diesel was like most other firms in Spain at that time. The manager—"el patrón"—was able to impose, or inspire, long hours of hard work in most factories. Workers usually started at eight in the morning and left at eight at night. But with Eduardo there was a difference. First he now arranged three shifts (*turnos*) of work: from eight in the morning to three in the afternoon, from three in the afternoon to eleven at night, and from eleven at night to eight in the morning. He also arranged to pay generously all who worked with him, whether they were managers or shop floor workers. There were special bonuses at Christmas for all.

In the mid-1960s, life in Villaverde changed somewhat and Eduardo and his colleagues had to take into account a series of challenges by the illegal unions, the Comisiones Obreras; though, in a society where strikes were technically illegal, they were easily mastered at Villaverde.

Eduardo later explained how discipline in the fábrica was maintained. He described, "We established a regular form of discipline. When workers left the factory there were very light controls, but when someone walked off with something, dismissal was immediate. We did not use the tribunals. On one occasion," he added, "we surprised a worker with some valuable blacksmith's products. Immediately the matter passed to our personnel department who dismissed the man concerned immediately. But two days before the individual in question had asked for an advance of 50,000 pesetas for an urgent operation which his wife had needed. Because of that, the personnel people consulted me to see what we should do. I told them: give him the 50,000 pesetas for the operation on his wife but maintain the dismissal. Tell him that if he needs anything else he has only to ask."[13]

A new but essential part of the life of the factory was the visits of distinguished guests: of, say, the Marqueses de Villaverde (Franco's astute daughter "Carmencita" and her socially aware husband—his seventeenth-century title came from one of the many pueblos of that name, not Villaverde of the factory); of the minister of the interior, Alonso Vega, friend of Franco from El Ferrol; and of the two intelligent ministers, Navarro Rubio and Ullastres, who were most responsible for the opening up of Spain to the world. José Solís, the secretary general of the movement, "the smile of the system," also came to visit, as did the American ambassador, John Davis Lodge. Cardinal Palacios Quiroga, archbishop of Santiago, who must have known the Barreiroses in Orense, came to Villaverde, as did the minister of air, General González Galarza, an experienced pilot who in his twenties, with Loriga and Ramón Franco, had been a famous aviator. In Febru-

ary 1960, José Antonio Girón came, more formidable as an ex-minister (of labour) than most serving ministers.

At the end of April 1959, the minister of industry, Colonel Planell, visited the factory. He came accompanied by his staff. What a triumph that visit was for Eduardo, who had been cold-shouldered by all friends of José Antonio Suanzes'!

21

The Factory of Happiness

In these years of the late 1950s, the life in Eduardo's fábrica on the Andalusia road was enhanced by the arrival of many outstanding young men as senior professionals, who often became quickly heads of the departments whose roles Eduardo with Valeriano had carefully worked out. The presence of these men transformed Barreiros Diesel since they were, by most judgements, men who would have succeeded in any large undertaking at that time (and often did so later on, in other enterprises). They were mostly provincial in origin but, after studying at the University of Madrid or in Bilbao, they all began to conceive themselves as Madrileños: men of a new generation of Spanish entrepreneurs who saw the capital as a centre of economic life in a way that before 1936 their predecessors would not have done. In the old days industry and commerce had been reserved to Barcelona and Bilbao; Madrid had been a bureaucratic or military city. In Pérez Galdós's novel *La de Bringas*, the heroine Rosalía, we remember, "was so accustomed to thinking of the world as a huge office that she could hardly envisage any other means of making a livelihood except by having a post at court or in the civil service."[1]

The new men were paid 10,000 pesetas a month when they first joined the undertaking.[2] This was a large income at that time, and probably 50 percent more than they would have received if they had been working for INI in the same kind of job.

Alongside the new, well-paid officers of Eduardo's growing army, the men of the fábrica at Villaverde, there were also new men on the board. Thus from 1958, the secretary of that body was, as we have seen, an ambitious young lawyer, Pío Cabanillas Gallas. Cabanillas's father was also a lawyer who had once tried to defend a political prisoner, and so his career had suffered.

Pío Cabanillas became secretary-general of Barreiros Diesel in October 1957 and secretary of BECOSA in May 1958. Horacio Pérez Vázquez thought him "the most entertaining person" whom he had ever met. He had a great sense of humour. "If you had to have a journey with Pío," Pérez Vázquez recalled, "you would know that you would be happy."[3] Eduardo was very fond of him and often said of him, "How bright is Pío!" and Pío would say the same of Eduardo: "How bright is Don Eduardo!" He was replaced as legal adviser in 1961 by Íñigo Cavero because he was away too much, that being due to his work in the legal aid department of the national union organisation. He would thereafter go to a destination of importance in the regime.

So far as the directors themselves were concerned, Eduardo in October 1957 proposed a new collaborator: José María Sanchis Sancho. This extraordinary individual from Valencia was the personal administrator of General Franco's properties and finances. He was also uncle of Franco's son-in-law, the Marqués de Villaverde. The general's sister, Pilar Franco, disliked Sanchis Sancho and said that he was one of those hated by all the world, because he had "a very black name." She added that in Valencia, he was thought to be the "most tortuous individual made since the creation."[4] All the same, he was generous and would soon become a new vice president of Barreiros Diesel.

The inclusion of Sanchis Sancho on the board was justified because of his skill in obtaining money from banks. "Tío Pepe" at Christmas sent wonderful oranges from his own orange groves to his friends, including to the Barrieros family.

Born in Aldaya, Valencia, in 1903, Sanchis Sancho had worked hard in his youth in the brick factory that his father had in Canalejas (de Peñafiel), in the province of Valladolid. He had helped General Franco to buy the finca of Valdefuentes near Madrid, whose previous owner (Luis de Figueroa, Conde de la Dehesa de Velayos) he had known.[5] He turned this property into the "explotación de Valdefuentes S.A." and became the manager there. He soon became the largest shareholder in Barreiros Diesel who was not a Barreiros himself, holding 15 million pesetas capital—that is, 5 percent of the total shares. He was also concerned in the import of Vespas from Italy, which soon began under his direction to be made in Spain.

With his collaboration, alongside that of Franco Salgado and "Tino" Lobo (who probably had been responsible for the suggestion of the nomination of Sanchis Sancho), Barreiros Diesel now seemed to have every day better relations with the regime, from which Eduardo, of course, expected to profit. If he did not in this respect do so well as he hoped, it was because Suanzes, at INI, and the Ministry of Industry, under Suanzes' successors, still struggled to hold on to Fas-

cist principles of state control. That ministry remained a powerful and, as Eduardo was concerned, always a negative influence.

Four further things should be mentioned about Eduardo's model fábrica on the road to Andalusia: first, from the beginning, he arranged for there to be a box for suggestions. This does not seem to have been used much but it was for Spain unprecedented. The author of any suggestion adopted would gain a proportion of any benefit.

Second, Eduardo was insistent that there should be a clinic that should concern itself with preventive medicine as well as the treatment of injuries. The first doctor to preside over this side of the fábrica was Nicolás Maroto, who had married a cousin of Dorinda's. He joined the fábrica in 1956. He was from the beginning concerned with cancer and he began to use *mamografías*, which were most advanced for that time, for the detection of breast cancer. Eventually, he had an assistant, Dr. José Luis Giráldez, who was a specialist in traumatology, or what is now usually known as forensic medicine. The eight years Giráldez had with Eduardo were, he said later, the happiest in his life. He was paid 5,000 pesetas a month in 1961. Before working with Eduardo he had been on social security.

His work was primarily dealing with accidents. To begin with, there was just him, Maroto, and three nurses. Soon, though, there were eight doctors and fourteen male nurses. Among the former was Dr. Guillermo Schoendorff, the son-in-law of Admiral Carrero Blanco, the most powerful man in Spain after Franco. "We thought that we had the best social service in all Spain," recalled Giráldez. "The mood was familial. Eduardo always seemed very human and without protocol. He was interested in talking of medicine since he had his own finger cut off in Orense. Sometimes if he heard that one of his workers had an ill child, he would say 'take the day off.' We often worked at night and at weekends. Sometimes when I got home, I would be called to return to the fábrica. I did not have holidays but, I repeat, I was happy."[6]

There was a third interesting innovation: a psychotechnical department set up to study psychologically the aptitudes of the personnel of the factory and the people who wanted to enter it. This began in December 1956.

The fourth interesting element was constituted by the laboratories. These were professional, modern, and very expensive. They gave an air of a new world second to none.

At the beginning of 1958, the eighteenth year of the reign of General Franco in Spain, Eduardo was invited to a shoot (*cacería*) by the head of state's son-in-law, the agreeable and light-spirited Marqués de Villaverde. This was in Arroyovil, a finca near Jaén on the slopes of the sierra Mágina, a property that Villaverde had

inherited and embellished. There he and his wife, the resourceful "Carmencita," usually entertained her parents, General Franco and Doña Carmen, over the new year holidays. The Villaverdes would invite, too, cabinet ministers, prominent businessmen, and occasionally "beautiful people," such as Ernest Hemingway's friends Winston Guest of the United States and his worldly wife, "Sissi."[7]

All these shoots were well-organised occasions. Perhaps there were twenty or thirty guns, their wives, and a small army of guards, beaters, bodyguards, secretaries, drivers: perhaps a hundred or more people, apart from maids, footmen, and cooks. The game would be the red-legged partridge, not the grey one of England.

Eduardo had not been to a shoot of Villaverde's before. As always, as on every social or professional occasion, Eduardo conducted himself as if he had been used to being there all his life.[8] Lunch with Lucía Bosé and Luis Miguel Dominguín, the great bullfighter? A game of *mus* with a minister of General Franco's? Eduardo seemed entirely at his ease in these circles even if he might give his winnings to the servants. That instinctive ease was a characteristic of his behaviour in the fábrica: he seemed as comfortable there with his thousands of workers as he had been in his small workshop in Orense of ten.

His pleasure at being at Arroyovil would have been mixed. First, it could not have been a pleasure to abandon a whole Saturday to such an undertaking. In the fábrica, as in most empresas then, throughout Europe, one worked at the very least on Saturday mornings. But Eduardo had became an excellent shot. He had even gained prizes shooting clay pigeons at the Club de Tiro de Pichón, near El Pardo.[9]

Some years later, however, he told a journalist, Martín Agudo, "The act of shooting always bored me but all the same the moments between one beat and another are very interesting because one can think of new projects. Many companies," he added, "emerge while one is waiting for the next drive."[10] Eduardo also came to think that it was necessary to go often into the country. To other journalists he reversed his position, saying that he liked especially "the *caza mayor*."[11] He continued, "Partridge shooting also diverts me because it is necessary to make many different kinds of shot."[12]

But a shoot where the head of state was present was a different matter to a mild walk around fields with old friends.

Franco liked shooting, and his wife, Doña Carmen, used to encourage him to go out with that in mind as much as possible: "otherwise, he would go directly to his office after breakfast and settle down to his papers."[13] "La caza" was a constant theme of the diaries of Franco Salgado, Eduardo's co-director, and General

Franco's cousin and secretary, who believed that Franco went shooting too much.[14] But the shoots served him, as they did Eduardo, to allow him time to consider problems more easily than in his office. They also enabled Franco to talk to all kinds of people: "This contact compensated him for the relative isolation of his life," commented his minister of agriculture in the late 1940s, Carlos Rein, a Malagueño who would sometimes shoot with him.[15]

These shoots played a major part in what then passed for Spanish political life. No ruler of the country since King Charles III had gone shooting so much as Franco. At shoots such as those of the Villaverdes, there would be these successful men, in tweeds, leaning on their shooting sticks, their trilby hats at the right angle, with their ties, breeches, and scarves all perfectly adjusted, and their boots well polished. Then at lunch, at about half-past three, the wives of the sportsmen would appear and afterwards all, wives included, might play a game of *mus:* a simple game of cards like hearts.[16] These social occasions had a purpose: an entrepreneur might gain the attention of the general, in the expectation that he might help him in relation to some future project.[17]

The first time when Eduardo was at Arroyovil in 1958, the shoot was memorable for a discussion of the economic changes undertaken by the two innovative ministers Navarro Rubio and Ullastres. The last-named was present, and said that the consequences up until then of his new measures had been entirely satisfactory. Alfonso Fierro, son of the businessman Ildefonso Fierro and himself a successful banker, thought that the new value of the peseta would increase the price of the materials that were necessary to import.[18] Martínez Bordiú reported that Eduardo declared that the new economic plans might affect the policy of full employment that had been the constant aim of governments since the civil war; but, all the same, the level of unemployment had remained low. He himself considered that the overall benefits, above all the likely disappearance of controls, compensated for any small inconvenience.[19]

General Franco would have heard of the exchanges at Arroyovil. He would have, of course, remembered or been reminded of the demonstration of Eduardo's lorry a year before, at El Pardo. The new secretary of the cabinet, Laureano López Rodó, would probably have prepared papers for him (that was his custom) explaining that Barreiros Diesel was now worth about 300 million pesetas in place of 20 million in 1954, and that that was divided as to about 83 percent for the Barreiros family, and 6.66 percent for the Banco de Vizcaya through its subsidiary, Financiera Española. A further share of 4.8 percent was in the hands of Castellana de Inversiones, another finance company in which the Banco de Vizcaya had an interest, while 5 percent was in the hands of General Franco's own friend, the Valenciano José María Sanchis Sancho. Franco would have been in-

formed, too, how other friends of his own, such as his patient cousin Franco Salgado ("Pacón"); his private secretary, "Tino" Lobo of Corunna; even admiral Nieto Antúnez, another Ferrolese, who was currently his *jefe de la casa militar;* and the second head of his civil household, Fuertes de Villavicencio, were now either directors or/and small investors in Barreiros Diesel. (Nieto had been the originator of the idea that General Franco needed a boat from which to fish;[20] and Fuertes de Villavicencio was that "courtier" over whom Franco had had his quarrel with Suanzes in 1954.)[21] Franco would have been informed of the Banco de Vizcaya's enthusiasm for Barreiros too—and probably would have read of the size of their investment.

General Franco might have learned then that, at that time, Eduardo was concerned with three things: first, trucks; second, tractors; and third, marine motors. In respect of all these things, as was inevitable, because of the way that Franco had established his control of Spain, he would require support if not help from the government—though it soon became clear to Eduardo that General Franco would not assist him directly.

First, trucks: as we have seen, Planell at the Ministry of Industry had given a licence for Eduardo to make 2,000, a laughably small number. Eduardo had recently asked for permission to make ten times that number, for (he said) he anticipated substantial sales in Spain itself: for forest-work, for use in mines, for private companies, and for Portugal. The expansion to make all these trucks would need, Eduardo would explain (at a meeting of his board in July 1958), an increase in the size of the fábrica from 20,000 to 100,000 square metres. That might be paid for by an issue of 200,000 new shares, of 1,000 pesetas each. But they were not able to go ahead at that time. Eduardo's old enemies at INI were opposed—as were ENASA, Motor Ibérica, the Metalúrgica Santa Ana, and Babcock and Wilcox Spain.[22]

Before the matter of the permission from of the Ministry of Industry so that Eduardo could make lorries and tractors for the Spanish market, Polish Star 21 trucks began to be produced in the Barreiros Diesel works, and Eduardo went to tidy up the contract at Poznan in Poland.

To ensure that these vehicles could leave the factories in Villaverde, no permission from the Ministry of Industry was necessary because they were in fact imports from Poland, each lorry coming to Villaverde to be fitted with two Barreiros diesel motors.[23] These "unfinished" trucks began to be received just about the time that Eduardo had won the test in Portugal.

Thus, the first truck to be sold by Eduardo was actually the Star 21, whose chassis was made in Poland by the Polish company MOTO-IMPORT.[24] "That chassis," recalled Santiago Fernández Baquero, "was of a very poor quality; we received

them with cabin and axles assembled, and the gearboxes and several accompanying parts came in separate boxes. The brakes arrived full of rust on them, and we really had to work miracles to get them to work. The brakes for these lorries," Fernández Baquero continued, "were hydraulic, assisted by a 'servomechanism,' which doesn't work well in vehicles weighing over 3,000 kg. For that reason, Eduardo installed compressed air brakes."[25]

Before Eduardo was able to complete his trucks, he had had to ensure that he could rely on an adequate manufacturer of gears, gear boxes, and differentials. Some firms already made these in Spain (for example, RIBAS, who made gearboxes of three speeds copied from Ford), but they did not seem adequate to Eduardo, either in price, quantity, or quality.

The consequence was that Eduardo sought what he wanted abroad. In this matter he went first to England to sound out the firm of David Brown, who had founded at Meltham, just south of Huddersfield in Yorkshire, one of the three biggest plants for gears in the world.

The understanding between Eduardo and David Brown turned out to be excellent, and the latter not only agreed to afford technical help on gears but became interested in sharing the costs and profits of manufacture.

David Brown and Eduardo signed a contract in London on December 1, 1958, that established a Hispano-British enterprise to make gear boxes. The association had the good effect in England of developing the idea, until then unheard of, that Spanish and English industry could beneficially collaborate. Capital of 100 million pesetas would be subscribed: 75 percent by Eduardo and his brothers, and 25 percent by David Brown. That was the limit at that time for a foreign investor in Spain. The directors were, as usual, Eduardo and his three brothers, but also among four other Spanish directors there was, significantly, the Marqués de Villaverde's brother, Andrés Martínez Bordiú, an astute businessman who had been at the shoot in January 1958 at Arroyovil. There were three English directors, including David Brown himself.[26] Within six months this plant was working. Martínez Bordiú's participation seemed to suggest further support from the regime, as it was intended to.[27]

David Brown, then in his middle fifties, was a manufacturing genius. He was chairman of a well-established undertaking that had been founded in 1860 by his grandfather to make gears as well as cars and later, successfully, tractors.[28]

Despite General Franco's approval, it was not until March 1959 that Eduardo's first trucks for the Portuguese government began to leave for Lisbon. The first thirty of these made a brave sight as they set off from Villaverde.[29]

Barreiros Diesel next turned its attention to a lighter, "civilian" version of that

truck. That was the so-called model TT-90-21, which began its public life, so to speak, by leaving the factory with a chassis, but with no cabin. Here again a foreign colleague played a part. For, at the end of the year, Paul Berliet, the French car manufacturer from Lyons, son of the legendary Marius Berliet, and a man who loved vehicles with four-wheel drive and who had visited Villaverde, gave Eduardo a sketch of a most attractive cabin. Eduardo saw the cabin itself in the autumn motor show in Paris—it was there described as "the cabin which makes one see the road with rose-coloured spectacles."[30] Within six months, he had made his own version of this. Eduardo was assisted by a series of die-stampers (*troquelistas*) of Vizcaya using a press that had once been used to press olives (Estampaciones Elejabarri of Bilbao).[31]

Eduardo and his workers made three hundred trucks of this kind before they had a licence to sell any of them. Eduardo pressed the ministry in the usual way—visits, letters, occasional presents—but ENASA and INI did their best to prevent any concession being agreed, on the interesting ground that Spain needed only one manufacturer of automobiles. Eduardo and Valeriano mounted a siege of the relevant ministries. They argued that with their sale of military vehicles to Portugal, they had already exported more lorries than ENASA ever had. Only on March 9, 1960, however, did Colonel Planell and the Ministry of Industry give permission to them to make another 1,500 lorries (some were to be "dumpers").[32]

Once the question of authorisation for the manufacture of trucks was resolved, Eduardo turned his attention once more to tractors. He in 1958 asked again for permission from the Ministry of Industry to make 3,000 tractors of different sizes.[33] The agricultural mechanisation of Spain, after all, now seemed certain. It was obvious that it depended above all on the availability of tractors. There were still no Spanish-made versions. On this occasion at last the ministry agreed. Then Eduardo approached the German firm Hanomag for help. Perhaps he remembered that business from before the civil war when it had had cars with hydraulic brakes.[34]

Hanomag had been founded in Hanover in 1908 as the Hannoverische Maschinenbau Actien Gesellschaft. It had begun to build buses and trucks and, in the 1950s, it had embarked upon making tractors and vans. The understanding of Eduardo with Hanomag was probably made by Bordegaray. At all events, in late 1958, Eduardo succeeded in organising a joint Spanish-German company, similar to what he had arranged in relation to Brown, with a capital of 100 million pesetas—of which three-quarters would be contributed by the Barreiros family, a quarter by Hanomag, the usual percentage. This undertaking, like the company established with David Brown, would have Eduardo as president and

Valeriano as vice president. Among the other directors of Barreiros Hanomag were the essential Bordegaray from the Banco de Vizcaya and his colleague, Guillermo Rahn Eilers. There were three German directors.[35] The director-general would be the astute Carranza, assisted by José Montes Heredia ("Pipi"), a Sevillano who spoke good English as well as German.[36] The tractors the company would produce would be powered by Eduardo's motors.

In January 1959, Eduardo and the Hanomag directors were able to agree on a projected manufacture of 3,000 tractors a year, and Dr. Otto Merkler, the Hanomag president, came to see the plant at Villaverde. Distribution would be done by another specially established company, SATE (Sociedad Anónima de Tractores Españoles), over which would preside the ceremonial figure of Carlos, the Marqués de Salamanca, a grandson of the founder of the splendid *barrio* that took his name.

Soon Eduardo was making five types of tractors, each for different tasks. Thus he gave a great impulse to the agricultural mechanisation of Spain, which had been begun long ago by the Ebro tractors produced by Ford and the Lanz Ibérica. In their first year, Barreiros and Hanomag made tractors of which 40 percent of the materials was imported, half complete, from Hanomag. But in the following years, everything Eduardo and his associates sold was nationally produced in Spain.

A journalist from Galicia remembers the arrival of Eduardo's tractors as "the coming of modernity, the first step towards the abandonment of the Roman plough drawn by two oxen. . . . It was a great change comparable only to the arrival of electricity, it was like moving from the candle to the electric bulb."[37]

Eduardo was also interested in these years in making buses. Thanks to his Portuguese associate, Pinto Bastos, the *fons et origo* of the idea of the participation of Barreiros Diesel in the competition won by the truck with the four-wheel drive in 1957, Eduardo found another partner in England comparable to David Brown.

This was the Associated Equipment Company (AEC) of London, which had been founded in 1912 as part of the London General Omnibus Company. AEC made the majestic double-decker London buses that still seem to so many a happy symbol of that city. AEC became an independent company in 1933. They had already exported to Portugal the chassis of AEC's single-storey bus.

Eduardo explained that it was he himself who had thought of seeking an association with AEC. He wrote: "Given that in Spain there was a great shortage of buses, we decided that we should use the technical help of a good European firm and Graciliano and I thought of AEC of England." So he went to London, accompanied by Fernández Baquero. They found the AEC's assembly plant very

old-fashioned: "as old as the river Thames," Fernández Baquero commented. All the same, they concluded an agreement in three days with AEC.[38]

A technical and commercial collaboration was agreed in March 1961 and, as necessary in these undertakings, the Barreiroses took 75 percent of the ordinary shares and the British firm 25 percent. Eduardo was president, as he had been in the case of both the joint ventures with Rheinsthal Hanomag and David Brown. The arrangement would enable the manufacture of "tip-up" trucks, buses, and "dumpers." The directors, known in this case as "vocales," were again Valeriano, Graciliano, Celso, and Ignacio Liniers, Eduardo's agreeable and educated brother-in-law; also Bordegaray and two English directors, John Otley Bowley, the general manager of AEC, and Jim Slater, a young entrepreneur with a brilliant future, as was everywhere supposed.[39] The plan was that the new company would make both town and country buses. At first, the factory was established in Toledo, where manufacture began in 1962, but it was soon moved to Villaverde. Eduardo's connection with Pinto Bastos enabled him to count on access to the Portuguese market. Having obtained the agreement of Colonel Planell for the trucks it does not seem as if he or his narrow-minded ministry made any opposition to this new international interest of Eduardo's.

Shortly the arrangements with David Brown and AEC were complemented by an undertaking of a similar kind with Ratcliffe of London, a manufacturer of springs of the sort used in the seats of cars. Ratcliffe was a firm established in Rochdale, Lancashire, in 1927. Eduardo wrote to the ministry in 1960 to ask for permission to make 16 million springs. Permission was granted in January 1961. A joint Barreiros-Ratcliffe Ibérica enterprise took shape in March of that year, with a capital of 16.8 million pesetas, with the British as usual taking 25 percent of the firm.[40] Graciliano signed the contract.

A fourth interest of Eduardo was not, however, resolved so easily. This was a scheme he had conceived for large maritime motors. He aspired to be able to make these with this time a licence from a French company, Alsacienne. The usual group of pessimists—Babcock and Euskalduna—opposed Eduardo's petition in this request to the Ministry of Industry of January 1959.[41] The request was indeed formally rejected in September of that year. Eduardo as usual protested; he was able to point out that the Spanish navy had begun to use Barreiros maritime motors in 1958—thanks perhaps to the intervention of his, and General Franco's, Gallego friend and investor, the new subsecretary of marine, Admiral Nieto Antúnez (he became the minister for the navy in 1962).[42] Eduardo was eventually successful in respect of marine motors in March 1961. He was allowed to manufacture 135 the first year, 270 the second, and 540 the third.[43] But what a waste of energy, of time, and of opportunity the delay was!

Naturally, while beginning to make these last marine works, and large and small trucks, tractors, and buses, Eduardo did not abandon his first interest: the transformation and then the making of motors. To maintain his interest, Eduardo bought an old soap factory just next door to Villaverde. He christened it "Fort Barreiros" and also "Cabo Cañaveral."[44] Here were born in 1959 both the EB-100 and the EB-150.[45]

Another collaborative enterprise was Tempo Onieva, a child of the German firm Tempo—itself a subsidiary of Hanomag—which was to make small trucks in collaboration with Eduardo. The aim was to make 2,500 a year.

Rafael Onieva Ariza was a manufacturer of "ROA" motorbicycles made with Hispano Villiers motors from 1951 onwards. This was founded on March 28, 1961, with a capital of 30 million pesetas divided equally among Rheinstahl-Hanomag, Barreiros Diesel, Vidal und Sohn, and Rafael Onieva Ariza. The ministry allowed Onieva to make 2,500 vans of 1.8 tons. They would be 100 percent Spanish by the second year of production.[46]

Eduardo's motors continued to sell well. Thus in 1959 Barreiros Diesel produced over 11,000 of different types and sold 9,500. They produced 610 lorries and sold 470.

Eduardo's restless imagination had by 1959 also established a whole clutch of secondary companies for the distribution of his products in different parts of Spain. His colleagues of the Banco de Vizcaya, such as Bordegaray, helped him find the right local businessmen in different parts of the country to preside over these businesses. Thus they soon had TAGRISA for Aragón, AUTISA for Asturias, DITASA for northern Spain except for Asturias, DIMASA for Barcelona, MALSA for Alicante and the Levante, AUTOSALÓN for Cuenca, SURESA for Murcia, AGRIFERSA for Valencia, AUTOMECÁNICA for Zamora, DORIA VICTORIA for Vitoria, and, above all, MOSA for Madrid and central Spain. All gave priority to the idea of sales by instalments (*a plazos*), which Eduardo more and more seemed to think represented the shape of the future.

Sales were also made abroad. In 1959 the trucks of Barreiros Diesel, the TT-90-22 in particular, were exported to twenty-seven countries, in the fairs of Belgrade and Poznan, in Paraguay and in Argentina. A year later they would be found in Angola, Bogotá, and Santiago de Chile. In Portugal, Eduardo went further. With his Portuguese associate Pinto Bastos, he founded a factory at Setúbal, thirty miles south of Lisbon. It had been a famous fishing port for generations. Industry had begun in the nineteenth century and, in addition to car assembly plants, the traveller in the 1950s would have come across cement works, ceramics, chemicals, and tinned food. Eduardo's factory of what became known as the "Compañía Portuguesa de Motores y Camiones SA," with a nave of 4,000 or 5,000

square yards in size, was established a mile and a half outside the town on what had once been an orange plantation.

Eduardo asked first one of his rising stars, Juan Miguel Antoñanzas, a Basque, to direct this enterprise. He wanted Antoñanzas to "open up Portugal." The latter declined because he had a young family (he would eventually have ten children). Eduardo said, "You are not ambitious enough. You are not capable of realising a great opportunity." Antoñanzas said, "If you continue talking in this way I shall leave and never return."[47] In the end, the new plant, which was first opened in 1962, was directed by a Madrileño, Fernando Alonso Mella, and after two years, by Álvaro de Ynclán. It set about producing one lorry every two days, or twelve to fourteen each month.[48] It was immediately organised for the purpose of exports to Latin America: delegations of Barreiros Diesel were soon set up in first Uruguay, then Paraguay, and afterwards Colombia, Chile, Guatemala, Panama, Honduras, and Cuba.

Eduardo was thus at the end of the 1950s an international entrepreneur of the first importance. His firms included four in which there was substantial foreign commitment (David Brown, AEC, Ratcliffe, and Hanomag, from England and Germany). Paul Berliet made contributions from Lyons. Eduardo had a subsidiary plant in Portugal. He had a special relation with Poland. His firm's exports were substantial.

Eduardo was now recognised as one of the most important independent industrialists in Spain. Thus the famous U.S. magazine of business *Fortune* explained in May 1960: "Independent businessmen are all too rare still in Spain but . . . three have made their marks." Those were in *Fortune*'s view Antonio Robert, who had pioneered Spain's production of antibiotics; Manuel Cortázar, director of General Electric Española, associated with General Electric International; and Barreiros, whom *Fortune* described as having challenged the government's truck monopoly, producing diesel-powered machines that would one day "revolutionize Spanish farms."[49]

22

We Worked with Optimism

We worked with optimism.

—José del Castaño

In February 1961 the ever meticulous, always cautious, but essential and hard-working Valeriano Barrieros sent a summary of the history of Barreiros Diesel to a senior official of Ignacio Villalonga's Banco Central in the hope of receiving a further loan. He explained how in 1954, Barreiros Diesel had had a capital of a mere ten million pesetas, and how in five years that had turned into 300 million pesetas. He explained that the firm had produced well over 11,000 motors of different types, as well as over 600 lorries.[1] Some of the exports that they sent to Poland were already being resold in Russia and China. Their four-wheel drive had triumphed in Portugal.

Valeriano wrote, too, of the subsidiary companies, the brain children of Bordegaray: for example, BECOSA had still a capital of only 20 million pesetas but was responsible for such Herculean public constructions as the sea wall at Castellón and the new dock at Cartagena.[2] Valeriano wrote too of the Compañía Anónima de Bombas (CABSA), which, now with a capital of 75 million pesetas, was concerned with the all-important injection pumps and refrigeration. Then Constructora Eléctrica Española Sociedad Anónima (CEESA), with its 50 million pesetas' capital, was concerned with the manufacture of electrical equipment and from May 1961 was carrying this task in collaboration with Doucellier Bendix Air Equipement (IDBA) of France. Eduardo's collaboration with David Brown, with capital standing at 100 million, had led to the manufacture of gearboxes (*cajas de cambio*), differentials, and gears; while Galicia Industrial (GISA), the second oldest of the subsidiary empresas, with a capital of 20 million

pesetas, made iron and steel parts. That fine example of Hispanic-German collaboration, Rheinstahl Hanomag Barreiros, also with its 100 million, had begun producing its tractors. To begin with they made three models of Hanomag design (the R-440, the R-438, and the R-335) with a Barreiros Diesel engine. The Sociedad Anónima de Tractores Españoles (SATE), with a capital of a million pesetas, busied itself selling these tractors. Then Financiera Comercial e Industrial (FICISA), with 10 million pesetas, was concerned with investments in stocks and shares. SAR-Compañía de Publicidad, still managed by the ingenious Feijóo, with a capital of a million pesetas, was concerned with publicity. The capital overall, including the subordinate companies, approached 665 million pesetas.

All these undertakings had offices on one or another floor of the Torre de Madrid, Princesa 1, the tall new building with thirty-five floors in the Plaza de España. The building had been finished only in 1957, having been begun by the Otamendi brothers in 1954. It was emblematic for Barreiros Diesel to be established in such a new and dominating edifice, which had transformed Madrid's skyline. The high command of the enterprise was on floor 15: there Eduardo and Valeriano had offices, which the former hated and which the latter made his headquarters. (Eduardo kept his fine office in Villaverde as well.)

In 1959 the offices were moved to even grander quarters in Alcalá 32, opposite the fashionable church of Las Calatravas. It was a street that preserved much of its ancient generous character, even if cafés had given way to banks in much of the best part.

But all the industrial work continued to be carried out in the naves of Villaverde, which at that time constituted one of the biggest factories in all Spain.[3] In 1961 Barreiros Diesel had an establishment of over 6,000 workers and was working in an installation of nearly 200,000 square yards.

Their production brought in over $35 million. Over 25 percent of all Spanish vehicles were now using Barreiros's motors. In 1961, Eduardo was also embarking on other new trucks: first, the 12,000-kilo Azor, with its panoramic cabin inspired by Berliet of Lyon.[4] ("Azor" means a goshawk in Spanish and was the name of General Franco's yacht from which he fished in summer.) Second, there was the Super-Azor, or "Gran Ruta," of 15,000 kilogrammes, with the same mechanism as the Azor but with a more powerful engine.[5] Being light but strong, it was ideal to carry fish from the Atlantic ports to the capital.[6]

These were a success. In 1961, 2,850 of them were sold compared to 2,800 sold by ENASA. To overtake the state-managed ENASA was an astounding achievement. No doubt in consequence Barreiros lorries began to be well sold outside Spain.

The Villaverde novelist Alberto Márquez recalled how Berliet's cabins were first copied with difficulty by Costa in Barcelona and then by Elejabarri, the enterprise being on a grand scale, fit for the resourceful truck drivers of that time who were always understood to eat like lions, drink like Cossacks, smoke cigars with a limitless capacity for suffering. They were the unsung heroes of countries in the age of development in the twentieth century.[7]

Barreiros Diesel was a good customer of Metacal y Falele SA, the most modern foundry in Spain. In 1961 it had 8.1 million pesetas of capital. Eduardo became a shareholder, but, except for Ignacio Liniers, a director as well as Eduardo's brother-in-law, the president and other authorities had nothing else to do with the Barreiros family. They had, to begin with, made small electrical apparatuses using German technology, and there were many German shareholders.[8] Eduardo used other foundries: that of Luzuriaga in Guipúzcoa, of San José in Zaragoza, even sometimes that of ENASA in Madrid and, latterly, that of Aranzabal of Vitoria, which, directed by two brothers, Guillermo and Jaime, soon became the best foundry of Spain. But reliance on other foundries was unsatisfactory to Eduardo, who, as usual, began his own. This, with its two large ovens, was from its opening in 1962 among the most modern foundries in Europe.[9]

The one failure in these years was the Halcón truck of five to six tons. Fernández Baquero explained, "The failure was partly the fault of the fábrica, partly that of the users. Barreiros Diesel made new things for the old lorries and that sometimes led to confusion. Finally the truck owners, unaccustomed to pneumatic breaks, forgot to put oil in the compressor."[10] Eduardo demonstrated the weakness of the pinions by personally breaking one of them with a hammer as if it were glass.

"With that result, they eliminated the steering-wheel, the mounted gearshift and the hydraulic clutch control, and manufactured the differential housing in moulded steel. We changed the colour of the cab from red to yellow, and we dubbed it 'Saeta' [dart]. It was a huge success."[11] The Saeta was so called after the sad but exultant songs sung in Andalusia in Holy Week by a spontaneous and usually self-appointed performer.

The year 1961, however, would remain in the memory of those who worked at Barreiros Diesel as the year of the EB-55 motor,[12] which eventually came to dominate the taxis of Spain that had been mostly built by SEAT, of INI, but which now had a Barreiros engine. It would soon be rare to find a taxi in Madrid without a Ricardo-Barreiros motor. In 1962 Eduardo modified this EB-55 to have a rotating injection pump, and he also changed the combustion pre-chamber, altering the denomination of the engines to C-24. Though it produced much the

same level of noise as its predecessor, it was more powerful and it consumed less fuel.[13]

Eduardo was now presiding over a very large enterprise. Several original things characterised it. First, a preoccupation with exports. At that time the idea of a Spanish exporter of manufactured goods still seemed a contradiction in terms. Oranges and lemons were perceived even by Spaniards as the most that Spain could offer the world. An important new manager with Barreiros Diesel who helped to change that way of thinking was José del Castaño, a lawyer from Madrid, who worked with Eduardo from 1960.[14] Born in 1927, he was unusual among the associates of Eduardo in being the son of a diplomat, another José del Castaño, who had been ambassador of Spain in many countries.

One day in 1960 a fellow lunch guest in the directors' dining room at Villaverde had asked: "Why don't we try to export?" Castaño does not remember who it was who proposed this. As it happened Eduardo had been at this time approached by the embassy of Cuba, both for lorries pure and simple and also vehicles for the collection of rubbish. His products were much cheaper than comparable ones made by Leyland of England.[15] Castaño had a friend in Noreño, the councillor for commerce in the Cuban embassy in Madrid. He put Eduardo and Valeriano in touch with José Miguel Espino, director of transports in Cuba.[16] Despite ideological differences, the Spanish government was delighted at the idea of Eduardo exporting to Cuba. Autarchy and Castroismo seemed cousins. Curiously, the United States took no position on the matter though their relations with Cuba were then atrocious and those with Spain good. This was "a great adventure" for Castaño, who had been well received in Cuba perhaps because of his Cuban forbears.

In a short time, Castaño became director of international sales at Villaverde and was soon busy creating a network of exporters: in Cuba first, then elsewhere in Latin America—Colombia, Venezuela, Guatemala, and Panama, and afterwards in the Middle East: Egypt and Morocco primarily. Eduardo went personally to several such countries to whom he hoped to export, including Venezuela, when he competed to sell 1,000 trucks, and where there was a strong German opposition.

The second originality of Eduardo at this time was his insistence on sales for his trucks being possible by instalment (*a plazos*). The future of the Spanish market for all kinds of vehicles was enormous. But there was no credit. The banks, the credit institutions, even the Banco de España all refused help to those who wanted to buy lorries. All the same, Spain needed new transport. To sell by in-

stalment was the best answer, and in this as in other ways, Eduardo was a pioneer.

Eduardo and Valeriano apparently explained to Franco himself the benefit of financing the sales of cars and other such things by the instalment programme. Perhaps this was at a shoot. At all events, afterwards, Eduardo told the ministry of what he had done. One can imagine the officials of Colonel Planell's large bureaucracy becoming furious at the thought of a direct connection of Eduardo with the head of state.

Íñigo Cavero, a lawyer who joined Barreiros Diesel in 1960 as legal adviser and succeeded Pío Cabanillas as the secretary to the board, later commented: "The hire-purchase system was meant to help acquisitions by those who did not have the money to pay cash for lorries or tractors. They could now pay 70 or 75 percent of the price through bills of exchange payable in thirty-six consecutive months. The scarcity of financial resources in Spain became evident when Barreiros tried to organise the financing of the . . . hire-purchase of his lorries by customers: he accumulated large packets of bills of exchange accepted from essentially solvent drawees that he was unable to convert into cash because the central bank of Spain lacked rediscount mechanisms; and he at the same time lacked the financial capacity to tie up sums that today would seem ridiculous."

Eduardo, Cavero commented, "had authentic leadership qualities. He acted as the captain of a ship. His workers knew that he himself worked from 8 A.M. to 10 P.M. He was a creator. There was no equivalent to him among Spanish managers. He was not interested in anything except his work."[17]

A third unusual element in Eduardo's scheme of things was his continuing preoccupation with the living needs of his workers. He was understandably proud of the health arrangements in the fábrica.[18] As we have seen, doctors were always available. Dr. Maroto was present almost at the beginning in Villaverde. Eduardo also now inspired for the workers a virtual village of low-cost houses near Villaverde. The September–October 1961 issue of Feijóo's magazine *Barreiros* has an impressive photograph of Graciliano giving the keys of a hundred new residences to workers and their families in "La Ciudad de los Ángeles."[19] In 1962 Eduardo also inspired an infant school there, a real Colegio Barreiros where nearly one hundred children under ten learned rudiments of education from three teachers.

A fourth element to notice now was Eduardo's continuous recognition of the need for, and his enthusiasm for, publicity. He and Feijóo managed to create a series of eye-catching public events to promote sales. The international appearances at congresses played their part: the automobile salon in the Grand Palais in

Paris, for example. Do not overlook the demonstration of a tractor of Barreiros Hanomag in Bogotá as at Lisbon, where Feijóo arranged that the president of Portugal, Admiral Américo Tomás, should visit the Barreiros stall to be photographed with Doña Mercedes, the Condesa de Barcelona and wife of the monarchist claimant, Don Juan. In the autumn of 1960, we learn of the Barreiros scholarship for the best Spanish athlete: that would be Fernando Adarraga for the pole jump. Eduardo's beautiful sister María Liniers was also photographed giving away a gold cup after an international riding competition.[20]

Finally, Eduardo always wanted to take advantage of any technological or other innovation that could assist his enterprise. Thus the laboratory occupied an important place not only at the fábrica but in the mind of the creator of all these undertakings.[21] This laboratory was directed by José Sastre de la Torre, a military engineer with much metallurgical experience acquired in earlier service at the *fábrica militar* of Trubia in Asturias.

23

Your Call Persuaded Me

Your call persuaded me to accept the proposal of Barreiros.

—Ignacio Villalonga to an official of INI, 1960

Despite these international endeavours, Eduardo Barreiros in these years did not forget his first company, BECOSA. It remained active, now primarily so in Cartagena. Eduardo told shareholders of the desirability of increasing the capital of the company by fourteen million pesetas. The turnover in 1957 had been 3,530,467 pesetas. At a meeting of the board of this company on April 10, 1959, in Alcalá 32, Eduardo read a memorandum that stated: "In order to prolong the Dique-Muelle Bastarreche on the basin of Escombreras in the port of Cartagena, new investment was necessary. Machinery and equipment needed were likely to cost about 14 million pesetas. They also declared a dividend of 576,360 pesetas."[1] The splendid works at Cartagena remain to this day, and constitute one of the sights there.

On the overall position of Eduardo and his companies about 1960, the only weakness seemed, at least to the Banco de Vizcaya, to be the continuing role of "self-financing": that is, the financing of all investments out of profits instead of entering the money market. Another anxiety derived from Eduardo's habit of expanding his activities in what seemed to be a disorganised manner. The bank now had a closer interest than ever in Eduardo's success, for it had become on June 10, 1958, a shareholder in the empresa. They did this despite the opposition of Leandro José Torrontegui, a director of the Banco de Vizcaya who was also president of Babcock and Wilcox of Bilbao, a rival to Barreiros in the field of automotion.[2] But despite his imposing reputation, Torrontegui failed to get his way.

The problem seemed that Eduardo never tired of being concerned in a multi-

tude of undertakings. On September 25, 1959, Bordegaray wrote candidly on that matter to Joaquín Eulate, now a director of Barreiros as well as of the Banco de Vizcaya. He wrote:

> Two or three times when during the recent summer I met the Barreiros brothers, I steeled myself to insist that once and for all they renounce new projects, reduce to a minimum their new investments, and so manage to arrange that they have in a year or eighteen months reserves in cash of 150 to 200 million pesetas. Second, in the last year their policy of self-finance supposed investments of 200 million. Practically, the whole or a little more were gained during the financial year 1957.
>
> Eduardo, whose magnificent qualities of all kinds cannot be ignored and is endowed with an extraordinary drive [*empuje*] but around him there is nobody with the authority to administer, much less restrict that drive.
>
> My feeling, as you know, is that the business should not be subordinated to the manufacture of motors and the greater or lesser demand for these in the Spanish market. That is proved by the investments in David Brown, Hanomag, Pumps, electric teams etc. To my way of thinking, the most magnificent work would be to give a guarantee to each of the undertakings which Barreiros Diesel has inspired for the capital invested in the factory.
>
> It's inevitable that, from the point of view of our bank, which now supports 80% of the commercial turnover, we must act with the maximum prudence. . . . even though the recent fall in petrol prices has considerably increased the demand [for motor vehicles]. I may be being over-pessimistic. Certainly, the proposed new credit of 20M for Barreiros Diesel does not worry me, bearing in mind that the investments of Barreiros exceed 600 to 700 million to which we sought to add the value of the land which they own, as well as that of the primary materials, which they have in their warehouse which must add about 150–200 million pesetas' worth [to their overall holding].[3]

In fact, 1959 saw important developments in Spain. It was the year when television began. By the end of it, there were already 30,000 television sets and the first star performers were basking in the new sunlight of popular success. Household goods, such as washing machines and refrigerators with modern kitchens, were beginning to be available on a large scale, to speed the "*embourgeoisement*" of Spanish life. In the cabinet, the "technocrats"—Ullastres, Navarro Rubio, and Laureano López Rodó, the efficient secretary of the cabinet—were busy preaching their message of economic change. Affiliates of the secret Catholic fellowship Opus Dei they might be, but they were agents of transformation. A new budget gave incentives to exporters such as Eduardo Barreiros and, rather gingerly, opened the way to foreign investment—and again Eduardo was a beneficiary.[4]

In June 1958, the Spanish cabinet approved the so-called stabilisation plan put forward by Navarro Rubio and Ullastres. The former explained, as he presented the scheme to a sceptical cabinet, that it was important to fight against prejudice and pride. Obviously, he was referring to INI. He also made a specific reference to the recent lack of success of INI's largest investment, Calvo Sotelo, the petrol refinery.

But despite continuing national syndicalist talk, the modernising ministers were firmly in the saddle. Navarro Rubio wanted to cut the budgetary benefits enjoyed by INI and hoped that that institution would begin to finance itself as if it were any other company. In 1959 the "technocrats" in the government introduced a liberalisation in trade to encourage the import of capital goods, which in turn would assist the renovation of Spain's machinery. A new plan to encourage the export of manufactured goods such as Eduardo's lorries—a real revolution in Spain—was marked by another devaluation of the peseta. In May 1959, the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) published a fine report on Spain that urged an even more thorough liberalisation.

A decisive exchange occurred that year between the new men and the old guard. INI had asked permission from the Ministry of Industry to found a new company to exploit aluminium from a mine near Avilés. Navarro Rubio, as minister of finance, was asked his view. He said that he could not accept that they should go ahead along the old lines. He urged the suggestion be rejected, adding that it deserved that fate if only because INI's firms never paid their electricity bills![5]

At the same time, most public men in Spain were by then in favour of closer economic attachment to Europe. Even Suanzes accepted that in February 1959.[6] Spain joined the OEEC (and soon the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development [BIRD] as well as the IMF). The government was saying that "it was time to re-direct Spanish economic policy in line with the countries of the rest of the Western world and to free it from interventions inherited from the needs of the past which do not correspond with present needs."[7] Suanzes began to realise that his syndicalist ideology had been defeated.

That same month the government, in conjunction with its new friends in the OEEC and the IMF, worked out a radical economic policy. That was an improvement on, or modification of, the first stabilisation plan. Limits were imposed on governmental spending, and a programme of trade liberalisation was introduced to approach the standards of the OEEC. This innovation was determined since the Instituto Español de Moneda Extranjera had been close to having to declare a suspension of payments. The ministers concerned with the economy considered that a fundamental turn towards economic liberalisation was

essential. Franco did not agree: he showed no liking for the private economy. But, all the same, he admired Navarro Rubio — because of his war record (an Aragonese, he had been wounded three times). Ullastres, too, had been a lieutenant in the civil war.

On July 22 these two ministers arranged for a loan of $544 million and set about trying to write a new law that would establish the internal stabilisation of the economy. They wanted to deflate the currency and, above all, to open the hitherto cosily protected Spanish economy to the challenge of international markets. Many of the government's control agencies were abolished, the peseta was again devalued, many items were freed from regulation, and the licensing of imports was done away with for 180 commodities, representing 50 percent of imported goods. Internal investment was freed from government restriction, and 49 percent foreign investment in any company instead of 25 percent was henceforth allowed. Dividends up to 6 percent could be repatriated from Spain.

Thus much of the old autarchy was demolished. The change was successful, inflation remained modest, foreign reserves recovered quickly.[8]

At the end of 1959, the Spanish economy seemed to be booming: its foreign exchange account was $100 million in surplus; new investment from abroad was up to $82.6 million in 1960 from $12 million in 1958. Tourists in 1960 would number six million instead of three million in 1958. The country was on the edge of a golden age of growth.

Eduardo was affected by all these things almost more than anyone. First, for example, in respect of the decline of state economic power, at the beginning of 1960, Ignacio Villalonga Villalba, the Valencian who was president and founder of the Banco Central, was telephoned by an official of INI saying that if the bank went ahead with a certain loan to Barreiros Diesel, the state automobile firm of ENASA would withdraw its account. Villalonga, a long-standing monarchist, said, "That's very serious, give me an hour to think about it." He called back and told the official, "Your call causes me to accept the operation proposed by Barreiros, because I want to make it absolutely clear that he who decides what is done in this bank is I myself, its president."[9]

Eduardo was also affected because he was beginning to dream about making saloon cars (*turismos*). Spain had less than 300,000 motor cars on its roads. About a third of those dated from before the civil war. In comparison, Britain had no less than 5.3 million cars, the United States as many as 66 million. In 1959, even if one could afford a new car, the waiting time in Spain was often still more than a year. The typical car of those years was the SEAT 600, a creation of INI. But one could not choose the colour nor the upholstery of what one bought.

The SEAT 600 was a small, cheap car that could go anywhere. It was a most

successful creation, but it seemed absurd that there should be scarcely any private motor industry to speak of except for the French dependencies Renault in Valladolid (making the Dauphine) and Citroën in Vigo. A new Italian-directed undertaking, SAVA,[10] was making three-wheelers in Valladolid, and FADISA (Fabricaciones de Automóviles S.A.), headed by General Franco's brother Nicolás, made vans. But Eduardo thought that he, the creator of so many motor engines, lorries, buses, and tractors, could play a part in opening up the market. Had not David Brown in England moved from gears to cars? Could Barreiros not do something similar? Had he not, with the help of Sir Harry Ricardo, also of England, created a motor, the EB-55, that was turning out to be ideal for taxis?[11] Should not Eduardo, the prince of motors, aspire to become the provider of saloon cars and serve Spain with what the country so evidently desired?

In May 1960, Eduardo presented a plan to the Ministry of Industry to expand his activities to allow him to make saloon cars with five or six seats to use either gasoline or diesel fuel. Obviously, Eduardo had in mind a large vehicle. The directors of SEAT and INI of course opposed him. Despite the new ideas in the Ministry of Commerce and Finance, those institutions still had power to delay indefinitely, if not prevent altogether, such an enterprise. A letter from José Ortiz Echagüe, the president of SEAT, of June 1960 shows the strength of feeling not only against Eduardo but against the whole concept of private initative.[12] But Eduardo refused to take "no" for an answer. At first, he thought of making a Spanish version of the Aston Martin, in conjunction with David Brown (who, remember, had bought Aston Martin in 1946). He also considered the idea of making an Ariane, a product of the then-independent French company SIMCA.[13]

Then, perhaps on the suggestion of David Brown, Eduardo approached Sir William Rootes in England for a possible collaboration over a Spanish version of the Hillman, the Sunbeam, or the Humber Snipe—Rootes's main products. Eduardo thought that he could make 7,500 of these a year. Vicente Eulate, son of that Joaquín Eulate who was a director of the Banco de Vizcaya as of Barreiros Diesel, visited Rootes in London on Eduardo's behalf. He found him in some ways comparable to Eduardo himself in his humane approach to business.[14] Rootes was a great salesman. In the early 1960s he would travel 70,000 miles a year to promote exports.

As a result, in March 1961 an agreement was reached between Rootes and Barreiros for the manufacture in Spain of both cars and industrial vehicles. The plan was they would first make a Spanish version of the six-cylinder Humber Snipe, and then move on to three-ton and four-ton lorries for which a new company, to be called Barreiros-Rootes, would establish a capital of 200 million pesetas.[15] In July 1961, the minister of industry—still Colonel Planell—approved the notion.

Planell gave his approval despite the continuing opposition of ENASA and even of SAVA.[16]

But Eduardo was outmanoeuvred. At the last minute, Rootes arranged to work not with Eduardo but with the Metalúrgica Santa Ana, a firm whose main purpose until then had been to make agricultural machinery. The details are obscure as to how this happened. But so it was that Eduardo lost his opportunity with Rootes. An announcement by Barreiros Diesel in January 1962 stated that the arrangements planned with Rootes would not go ahead because that business refused to invest in Spain. In fact, Rootes would probably not have been a good partner with whom to make motorcars. He had been in the 1930s, it is true, one of the six biggest motor manufacturers of England. Even in 1960 he chaired what was still the twelfth largest motor corporation in the world. But he was a salesman par excellence more than a producer. All the same, an "English solution" to his problems would surely have been better than what did transpire.

Eduardo did not despair. While continuing to work on his all-consuming other activities, he considered further how to make cars. He turned his eyes towards Germany, not this time to Hanomag but to Carl Borgward, who was the son of a well-to-do Hamburg coal merchant and had begun to make motor cars in the 1930s. Eighty percent of his factories in Hamburg had been destroyed by Allied bombing. But Eduardo was interested in the luxurious cars of Borgward, which, surprisingly, seemed to him what the Spanish market needed. But it turned out that Borgward was still in no position to invest. Indeed, he went bankrupt in 1961.[17]

Yet Borgward had had considerable interests in Mexico, including a factory for manufacturing saloon cars at Monterrey. Eduardo, combining with Ernesto Santos Galindo and some other Mexicans, bought for about 40 million pesetas a large stock of machinery from Borgward probably worth over four times that sum.[18] Some Barreiros engineers went to Bremen and then to Monterrey to dismantle the Borgward car factory at Monterrey, which later made the last Borgward (the "Isabella" or Borgward 230).[19]

After the end of his flirtation with Rootes, Eduardo returned to London for inspiration. He went with Fernández Baquero to discuss plans with Jaguar, the meetings being organised by Carlos, Marqués de Salamanca, who, as we have seen, was Eduardo's representative in the tractor distributor, SATE. He also represented Jaguar and Rolls in Spain. The three lunched with Lyons, the president of Jaguar.

Lyons was one more of those clever English entrepreneurs for whom Eduardo had a distinct liking. Born in Blackpool in 1901, the son of a musician from Ireland, Lyons was, like Eduardo, a self-made man. He left school young and was

selling cars well before he was twenty. In 1922 he began to make "Swallow" side cars for motor bikes, with William Walmsley, in Blackpool. Austin-Swallow produced 100 sidecars a week and two cars a day after 1927. Like Eduardo, Lyons had no formal training but he knew instinctively what his plans entailed, and also like Eduardo, he set high standards. He moved to Coventry to set himself up in a former munitions factory. After Walmsley left him in 1934, Lyons began to make his Jaguars, first known as Standard Special (SS) cars. Realising the unfortunate connotations that the letters "SS" had gained in Germany, Lyons changed the car's name in 1935 to Jaguar. After the war (during which he made military sidecars and parts of the Gloucester Meteor bomber), he again launched Jaguar cars.[20]

So it was not at all surprising that with Lyons, Eduardo should have serious discussions. They sketched out the details of a new company that would be known as Jaguar-Barreiros. But Spain did not need a luxurious car such as the Jaguar, beautiful though it was. The moral was much the same as that which Eduardo had appreciated when he made his own rough but cheap and strong lorry to compete with Wilfredo Ricart's elegant but expensive version. At the time Spain needed transport, whatever it looked like. For once, it was Eduardo who hesitated.

Eduardo then had next some dealings with General Motors of Detroit: to study the possibility of a Spanish version of the Pontiac Tempest "compact," which General Motors had sold well in the United States. Eduardo rented a Tempest in Lisbon and had it taken to Villaverde. But even that was not what Eduardo needed.

Fernández Quintas recalls a meeting at this time with Fernández Baquero and Carranza. They discussed the idea of Barreiros Diesel making saloon cars (*turismos*). Both the latter seemed vaguely in favour, but he, though, was vaguely against.[21] Eduardo, they all knew, was fervently in favour. He saw the idea as the culmination of his career. In that he was correct. He knew, as the *New York Times* would put it a year or so later, that "auto-hungry Spaniards" were wistfully reading advertisements in newspapers for saloon cars.[22] But he could not have appreciated exactly how that would be materialised.

24

We Beseech You to Refuse a Licence

We beseech you to refuse a licence to Barreiros Diesel [to make saloon cars].
[Suplica . . . denegar la expresada autorización que solicita Barreiros Diesel.]

—*The president of SEAT to the president of INI, José Sirvent, June 1, 1960*

Eduardo's irritation at being unable to find a partner with whom to undertake the creation of saloon cars (*turismos*) even in England was unbounded. Yet he was obviously one of the most successful entrepreneurs of Spain. He had recently moved from the agreeable Calle Ferraz to a large flat a few hundred yards away in the elegant, tree-dominated, and charming Paseo de Moret facing the Parque del Oeste. His parents, brothers, and sisters, as well as his children, had changed with him. Eduardo had ceased to summer in El Escorial in the hotel Felipe II and was now to be found in August in the majestic Hotel Formentor, in Mallorca.

Eduardo was on excellent terms with the leaders of the regime even though they did not help him when he needed it. He was a frequent guest at the most interesting *cacerías* (shoots), including those of General Franco. His income was enviable. He was the presiding genius in no less than twenty-six companies.[1] When Eduardo won the Grand Cross of Civilian Merit in 1961 his enterprise was said to have been responsible for making over 80,000 motors, and Eduardo himself was described as a man "who had started from the bottom and had reached the top." In September 1962, Eduardo stated at a press conference that at Villaverde he was making 2,000 motors a month, as well as 500 trucks and 400 tractors. He was exporting trucks to Portugal, Uruguay, and Colombia, and motors to Poland and Turkey.[2] The trucks mainly were the Azor and the Panter, but they were being gradually complemented by the Saeta, and later replaced by the

larger Azor II and the Víctor. The Banco de España used Barreiros buses to move the cash from one place to another: the *Boletín de la Empresa* printed sombre pictures of the governor of the Bank of Spain, the Conde de Benjumea, at a ceremony beginning the association. All had gear-boxes made by David Brown, Eduardo's partner, that imaginative English entrepreneur of Huddersfield.[3]

Then, from 1962 onwards, Eduardo, with his other English partner, AEC, was making and selling two sorts of buses, one inter-city (the A-131) and the other purely urban (the A-501). Eduardo's C-24 motor was also still much sought after by taxi drivers, especially those of Madrid.

Up until 1962, the successive increases of capital from 10 million pesetas in 1954 to 300 million in 1961 had been generally achieved by self-financing and the immediate reinvestment of the benefits achieved. Then there had come credits from the banks.

These were astonishing achievements for a country boy from Orense who was still only just forty and had reached Madrid only ten years earlier.

Sometimes, of course, there would be dissatisfied clients. Eduardo would deal with such people with verve. In the installations of Galicia Industrial (so called because of Eduardo's continuing love of the region of his birth and origins), on the road to Andalusia, there was a "central service for assistance to clients." "Every day," Fernández Baquero remembered, "Eduardo and I would visit this two or three times because, in addition, they made components for motors or lorries. Generally, one or two people came to complain about failures. Eduardo always had with him in his pocket a wad of notes that he would divide among these complainers."[4]

Yet there was sometimes confusion. Rafael Abella, a clever chemist from Barcelona who had strayed into industrial management and become in 1961 head of supply in the empresa, was one of Eduardo's most severe critics in this respect. He admired Eduardo's drive but he thought that Eduardo relied too much on "yes-men." The most eminent of these, Abella thought, was Fernández Baquero. Several departments were often in "chaos" too (again Abella's word) because of arguments with the section dealing with quality control.[5] Eduardo's own demands were also sometimes exorbitant, Abella thought, as when he summoned four hundred senior staff to a meeting and told them that they had to double their production without more ado.

But without any direct connection with these anxieties, a strong, cold wind began in 1962 to blow in Eduardo's direction for the first time since he had come to Madrid ten years earlier. The obvious sign of this was that during the year, the turnover, though considerable, constituted no advance on that of 1961: just over 2,000 million pesetas.[6] Yet sales had been excellent: 4,554 trucks, 2,006 tractors,

and 2,538 motors, of which 86 trucks and 105 motors had been exported.[7] To these figures one should add the motors of the taxis, maritime engines, and so on.

The explanation for the decline in income was that Eduardo had recently sold most of his vehicles on instalment, *a plazos*. But even in a mild economic recession many of those who had committed themselves to buy trucks, tractors, or buses and had received these vehicles fell into arrears with their payments. This crisis was a new kind for Spain, and the laws of sales by instalment were also vague.

The first overt sign of the difficulties came in January 1962 when the loyal, ever enthusiastic, and appreciative Banco de Vizcaya reduced a proposed loan to SATE, Eduardo's company that sold his tractors, from 180 to 150 million pesetas. The bank also set about establishing new limits for other loans: Barreiros Diesel itself would be limited to 450 million pesetas; Rheinstahl Hanomag Barreiros, which built the tractors, to 187 million; GISA, to 72.5 million; Barreiros-AEC, manufacturers of buses, to 30 million; and Ratcliffe-Barreiros, the makers of springs, to 18 million.

These limits were, however, not maintained since the bank had agreed that it would be interesting for Eduardo to buy whatever he could of the substantial quantity of machinery available in consequence of the wreck of Borgward.[8] On January 24, 1962, a director of the Banco de Vizcaya (probably Roy) wrote to Bordegaray saying, "After a long discussion and the information previously given by Nebreda [the director of research in the bank] about the likely figures for investment and turnover of Barreiros Diesel, we have agreed to the new lines of the discount requested for 260 millions, and to tell the people in Madrid that we have reached the end of the risks we can take and suggesting that any new needs of Barreiros should be met by going to other banks. Perhaps you should be the person to tell Eduardo this."[9]

Bordegaray thought that Joaquín Eulate would recall that "at the last meeting of the board of directors [*consejo de administración*], I had expressed myself in similar terms. The risks of all kinds oscillated between 1,000 and 1,200 million pesetas."[10]

Eduardo soon after this went to see the Banco Central, where he was well received by its president, Ignacio Villalonga, when he talked of a loan to enable him to transfer what he needed of the machinery from Borgward in Germany and Mexico to Spain. He wanted to buy the entire factory of Borgward for 13,500,000 marks (200 million pesetas), to be paid over four years.[11]

Eduardo wrote to several other banks asking for their support. Zaragozano, Hispano Americano, Español de Crédito (the Marqués de Deleitosa was its pres-

ident), Santander, Exterior de España, Mercantil, Industrial, Bilbao, Rural, and Mediterráneo were all asked for their backing for his schemes of sales *a plazos*. Only the Banco Español de Crédito gave a positive reply (as well as the Banco Central), promising 100 million pesetas' credit.

Thus in the last days of 1962 Eduardo was finding his position increasingly difficult. He could not make new investments and had to cut costs. "Our growth was in a horizontal position. We had reached a situation," he said, "where we had to support projects valued at 600 million pesetas. . . . This gave us great difficulties, but we never failed in any promise which we had made." He explained, though, that he spent "several nights without sleep."[12] Barreiros Diesel sold 6,000 trucks in 1962, ENASA 6,500.[13] But that was not enough.

The advice offered to Eduardo at the meeting in May by José Salgado Torres had been good. But Eduardo did not want to become the chairman of a public company. He thought that to do that would risk losing his control. The day when a chairman could manage a great enterprise by owning only a small percentage of the shares was still far off in Spain.[14]

The novelist Antonio Márquez Paz wrote that in respect of 1963, "The first part of this year was very agitated."[15] What he meant was that the wonderful factory to which Eduardo had devoted such loving care quite suddenly found itself without primary materials because the company could not pay for them. Eduardo told the directors of the different sections, "We are living in a recession. But don't worry about anything, it is nothing important. We have a few months to solve these essentially administrative problems. Let us keep ourselves busy by concerning ourselves with cleaning, painting, maintenance of those pieces of equipment which we leave a little neglected when we are at full steam ahead."[16]

Márquez Paz thought that thanks to his advances made through the finance company FIBASA to those who wanted to buy lorries, Eduardo's own assets were practically nonexistent. All that he had left was paper promises. Eduardo tried to sell those to banks.[17]

José Fariña, a Pontevedrés of Eduardo's age, a local civil servant who had been secretary to the town halls of both Carballino and Cáceres and who had worked as an administrator for Eduardo from 1959, also wrote an account of these complicated days. He commented that the expansion of the empresa was such that there were "constant promotions and new appointments. But . . . the business was thereby being financially weakened constantly and the difficulties which the treasury encountered were continuous now that the national bank placed restrictions instead of giving facilities." Fariña added: "The banking world continues to be anchored in the nineteenth century, governed by four families and paralysed by old-fashioned mental structures."[18]

That was an impression of a novelist. On February 7, 1963, the Vizcayan banker Luis Roy wrote to Bordegaray that in a recent conversation with Carranza—"with whom, I say in passing, a dialogue is much more substantial and, in a certain way, more reassuring than one with Valeriano," he spoke of the distributors. He spoke especially about SEAT, dealing with tractors, because that is what he knew most about and he said that the sales during the first six months of 1962 were substantially below what had been anticipated. Thus the plan had been to make 105 tractors, but the delivery had been only 77 and actual sales were only 48.

In view of his desire not to create problems for DITASA, the sales organisation for the north of Spain, Carranza in July agreed to limit sales to five tractors that month, ten in August, four in September, nil in October, ten in November, and four in December. . . .

It did not seem right to go further into detail, "but I cannot hide from you," Roy continued, "that I have the impression that DITASA does not have in its arrangements for sales all the force desirable and that is one of the main reasons for its difficulties."[19]

Carranza had assured Roy that he was doing everything necessary to ensure that the method used for selling tractors should be employed in relation to lorries and motors. He thought that the programming should be decided by the distributor.[20]

Bordegaray wrote back to Roy saying that DITASA's failure to sell more tractors in Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa could not be explained by the fact that these farmers operated on too small a scale, though they did. The real reason was that Basque farmers have "a marked preference for foreign products!" The same was true of trucks—a prejudice that Eduardo had to fight against with much energy, even though Hanomag played a helpful, positive part.[21]

In the background of Eduardo's affairs there was also the continuing misunderstanding, to put the matter mildly, with the Ministry of Industry. It is true that Suanzes' power in the ministry was in decline since the entry into the government of Ullastres, Navarro Rubio, and López Rodó, the three determined economic reformers, and their staffs. But he still had influence, and where that was the case, it continued to be hostile to Eduardo.

Eduardo must have taken pleasure in the change of government of July 1962. At that time, his own old enemy Colonel Planell at last left the Ministry of Industry and was replaced by a younger and, at first sight, more promising politician, Gregorio López Bravo. Eduardo's friend and an investor in Barreiros Diesel, Admiral Nieto Antúnez, also now joined the cabinet as minister for the navy (he kept his shares in Barreiros Diesel).

Another Gallego, from Lugo, the young Manuel Fraga Iribarne, the hope of intellectuals, also came into the cabinet as minister for information. He also held the then important portfolio of tourism, which was coming to be, with six million visitors in 1962, Spain's largest source of foreign exchange. He would soon become a friend of Eduardo. Ullastres and Navarro Rubio, like their Opus colleague López Rodó, remained in the cabinet. General Alonso Vega, like Nieto Antúnez from El Ferrol, also stayed at the Interior, the name that had just been changed from "Government." But despite these changes, this cabinet for Eduardo was no real advance on its predecessor. The difficulty was López Bravo.

López Bravo was a naval engineer by training; he had studied in the United States, and had worked on shipbuilding in Bilbao and in Cádiz. When still young, he became director of foreign trade and then of foreign exchange under Navarro Rubio. As such, he had visited Villaverde, apparently with enthusiasm. In 1961–62, he had been briefly a director of INI and as such must have come to know Suanzes well, who was also a naval engineer. Bravo emerged, after all, from the Falange.[22] Yet he presented himself in the ministry as a follower of Navarro Rubio and Ullastres. Like them, he was associated with Opus Dei, the secret Catholic body designed to influence policy making at the top. His task seemed to be to encourage free enterprise. He was good-looking, competent, and charming, a snake charmer indeed, as one of his associates said of him.[23] He seemed the personification of the practical new Spain, too young to have fought in the civil war and to have suffered from its mysterious propaganda. But there was no affinity between him and Eduardo. Perhaps the warm-hearted humanity of Eduardo clashed with the cold if agreeable reasonableness of López Bravo. Eduardo had also had a name in the 1950s for "stealing workers" from Pegaso.[24] Perhaps, more likely, Eduardo seemed likely to be an obstacle to López Bravo's politico-industrial plans, which still envisaged goals being named for specific industries, as suggested by the then-recent World Bank report, not producing as much as possible, with no limits, as well as no targets. Whatever the exact reason, Eduardo had little success in putting over his ideas to the new minister.[25]

Apart from his disappointment in not finding a Spanish or a European partner with whom to make automobiles, Eduardo was overstretched and he was already operating on too large a scale to be able to be helped by Spanish financial institutions. The Banco de Vizcaya had decided not to increase its risks, though they remained investors and shareholders, and though Bordegaray remained a director.

About this time Eduardo, at a lunch at La Navata, La Berzoza, outside Madrid in a property of the banker Alfonso Fierro, met John (Jack) Fitzpatrick, who as U.S. naval attaché in Spain had played such a critical part in bringing the United

States together with General Franco's regime in 1948–50. Fitzpatrick had in 1955 joined the Gulf Oil company, at that time the biggest foreign investor in Spain. He and Eduardo first tried to mount a network of service stations, to serve the travellers of the new age on Spain's roads, to be called BAPSA (Barreiros Petróleos SA). But they once more failed to receive government support for the idea: the Ministry of Transport's CEPSA[26] had a monopoly and was determined to maintain it.

Fitzpatrick next asked Eduardo and Dorinda to lunch at the house that he had rented for weekends at the Pantano de San Juan, near San Martín de Valdeiglesias—and close to the Barreiroses' own property on the reservoir of Burguillos. Eduardo explained that he wanted to make automobiles but that he was meeting difficulties in achieving that ambition.[27]

Fitzpatrick, always adept at making these kinds of arrangements, thought that he could secure the support of the Ford Motor Company for Eduardo. Ford had long had European interests. They had had, for example, a plant in Germany since 1929. So Fitzpatrick approached his nephew by marriage, Thomas Drake, who was the general manager of Ford Spain. Drake went to his board and received warm support for the idea. But there was a catch: Ford would help only if Barreiros Diesel became Ford Spain. Eduardo rejected the proposal.

Much the same then happened with General Motors. Fitzpatrick approached his chairman in Gulf Oil, William Whiteford, who found it easy to talk to the company since he was on its board. General Motors had many interests in Europe, where it had made even more vehicles before 1938 than Ford. It had had assembly plants in Spain in the 1920s and had bought Vauxhall in England and Opel in Germany before 1930. But General Motors' reaction was the same as Ford's. Certainly, they could help. But Barreiros Diesel would have to change its name. Again Eduardo refused.

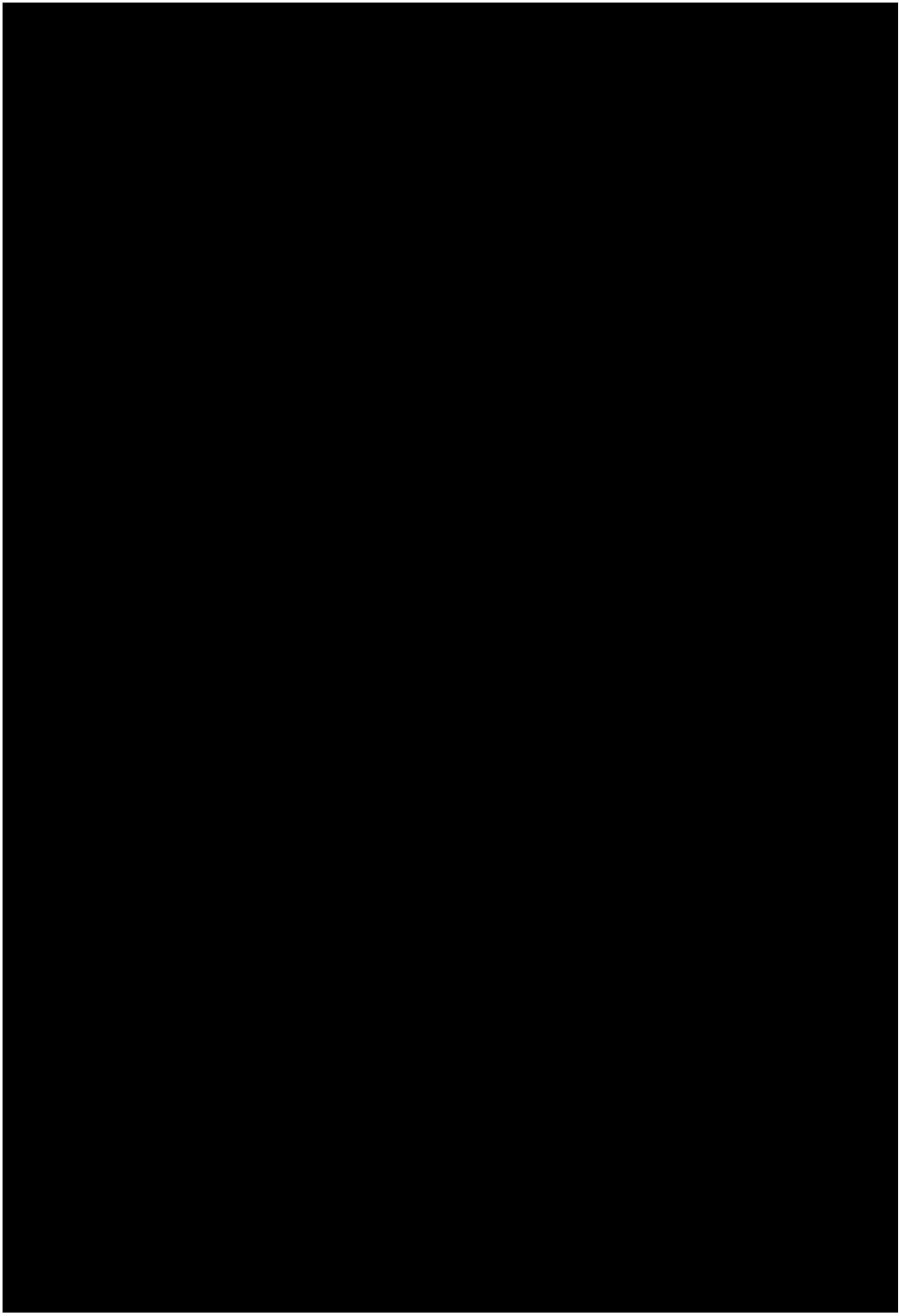
Fitzpatrick then made contact with George Love, chairman of Chrysler, the third most important U.S. car manufacturer. As in a fairy story, the third approach was a success. Love was interested. Fitzpatrick's boss William Whiteford invited Eduardo to a duck shoot in Rolling Rocks in Pennsylvania. He accepted.[28]

Eduardo's gesture occurred just when Spain was beginning to make the changes towards the less autarchic, more open society that Eduardo had always desired. The foreign minister, Fernando Castiella, had in February 1962 written to Couve de Murville, his French opposite number, asking to begin negotiations as a result of which Spain might join the new European common market. Franco had said in June, "Our intentions towards Europe are sincere and firm." In January 1963, a decree permitted the tax-free installation of factories making

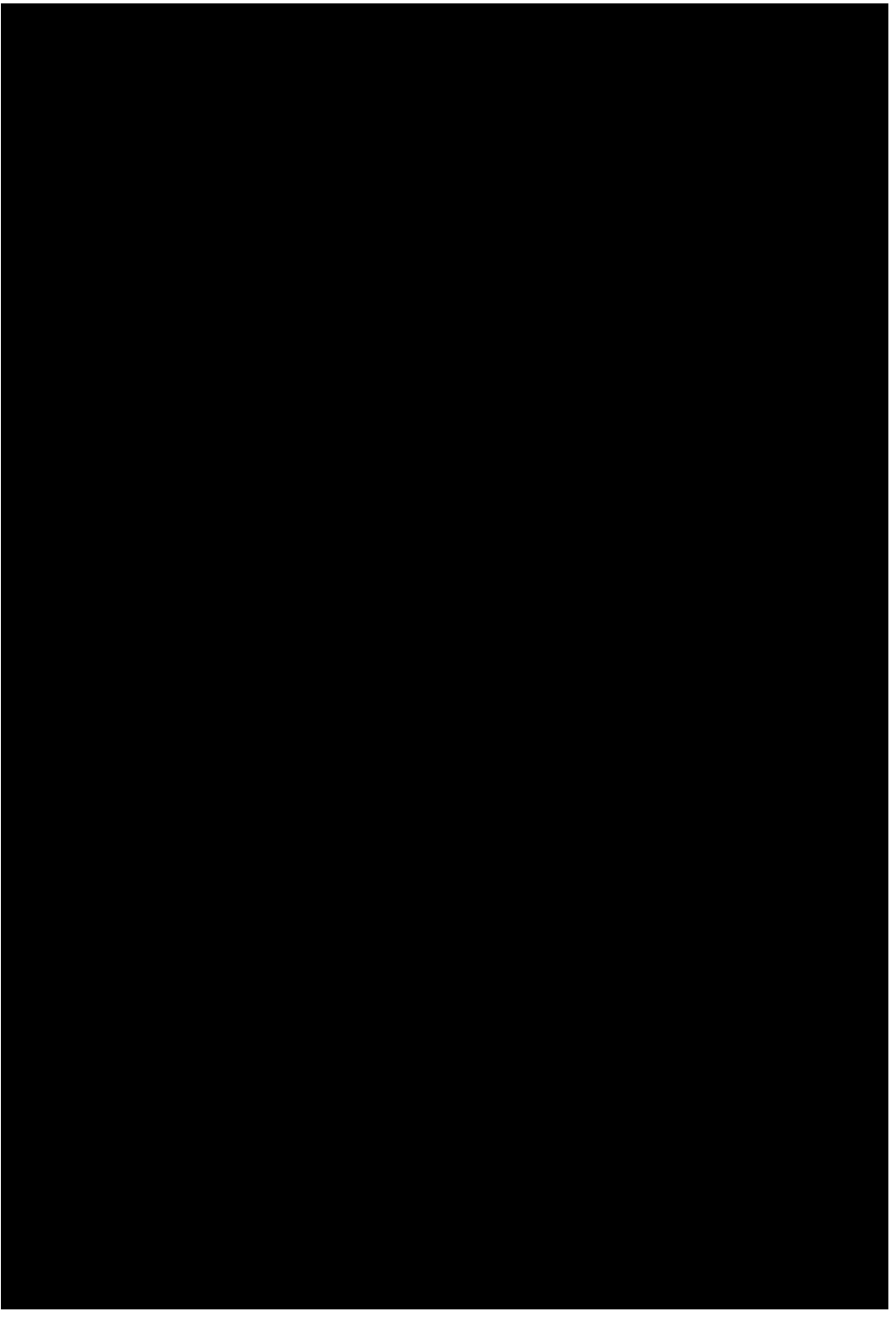
automobiles, providing they were big enough.[29] The decree might have been designed with Eduardo in mind. Then, on March 8, 1963, López Rodó launched his development plan in the Biblioteca Municipal of Bilbao. Henceforth INI would limit itself to compensate for the lack of private initiative, and not compete with it.[30] On March 14 came a decree transferring the supervision of INI from the prime minister's office to the Ministry of Industry. Suanzes saw these measures as spelling the ruin of the INI as he knew it.[31]

Thus the country was already embarking on a new age, and Eduardo Barreiros had already set forth upon a new approach of his own. He was, however, shaken this year by a personal tragedy whose effect was profound if unmeasureable. In 1961 his brilliant only son, Eduardo-Javier, succumbed to a nervous crisis that brought to an end any kind of education or even of maturing. He had to live thenceforth as a patient. Eduardo never revealed his thoughts on the subject, but surely the knowledge of the infirmity affected everything he did.

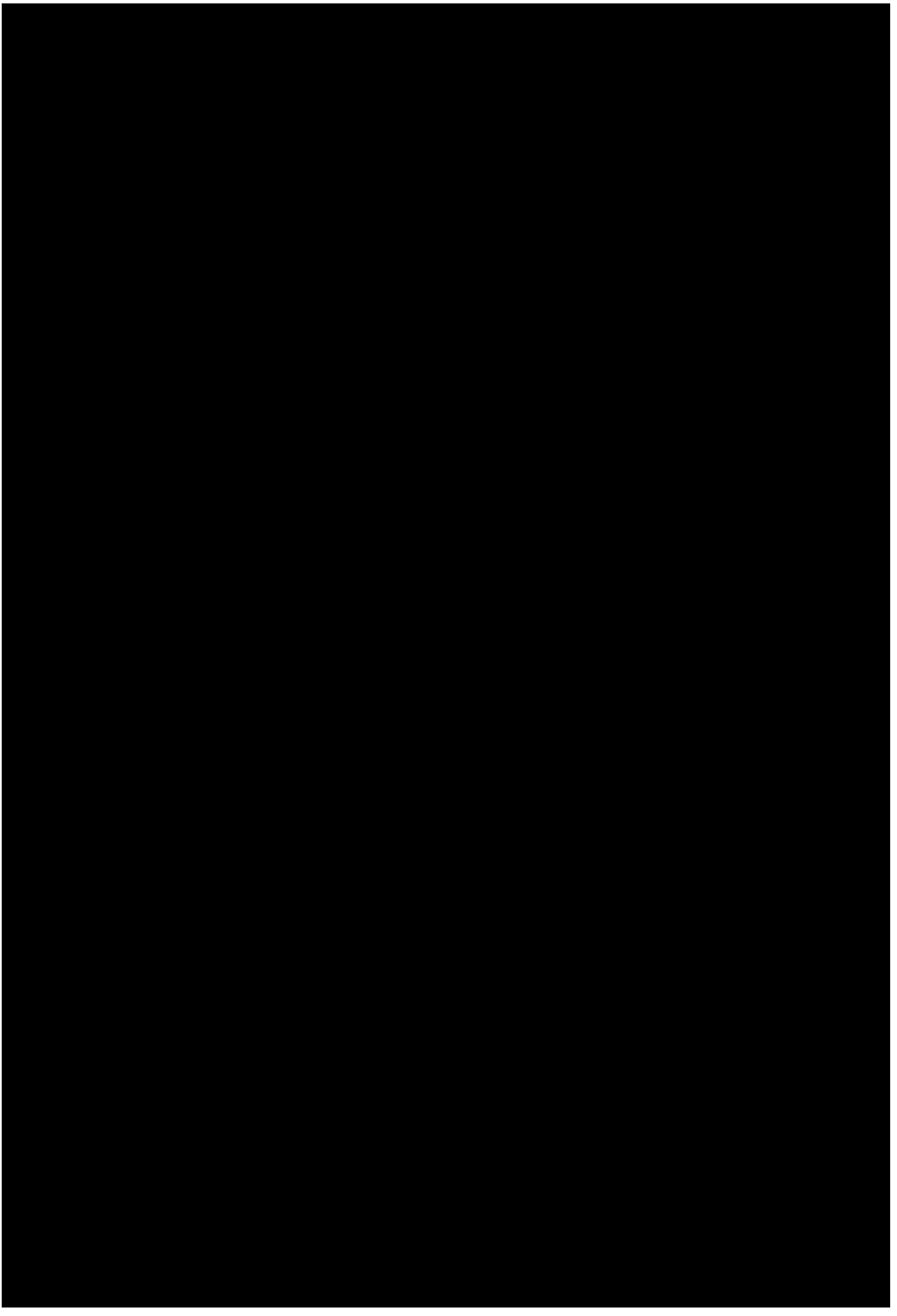
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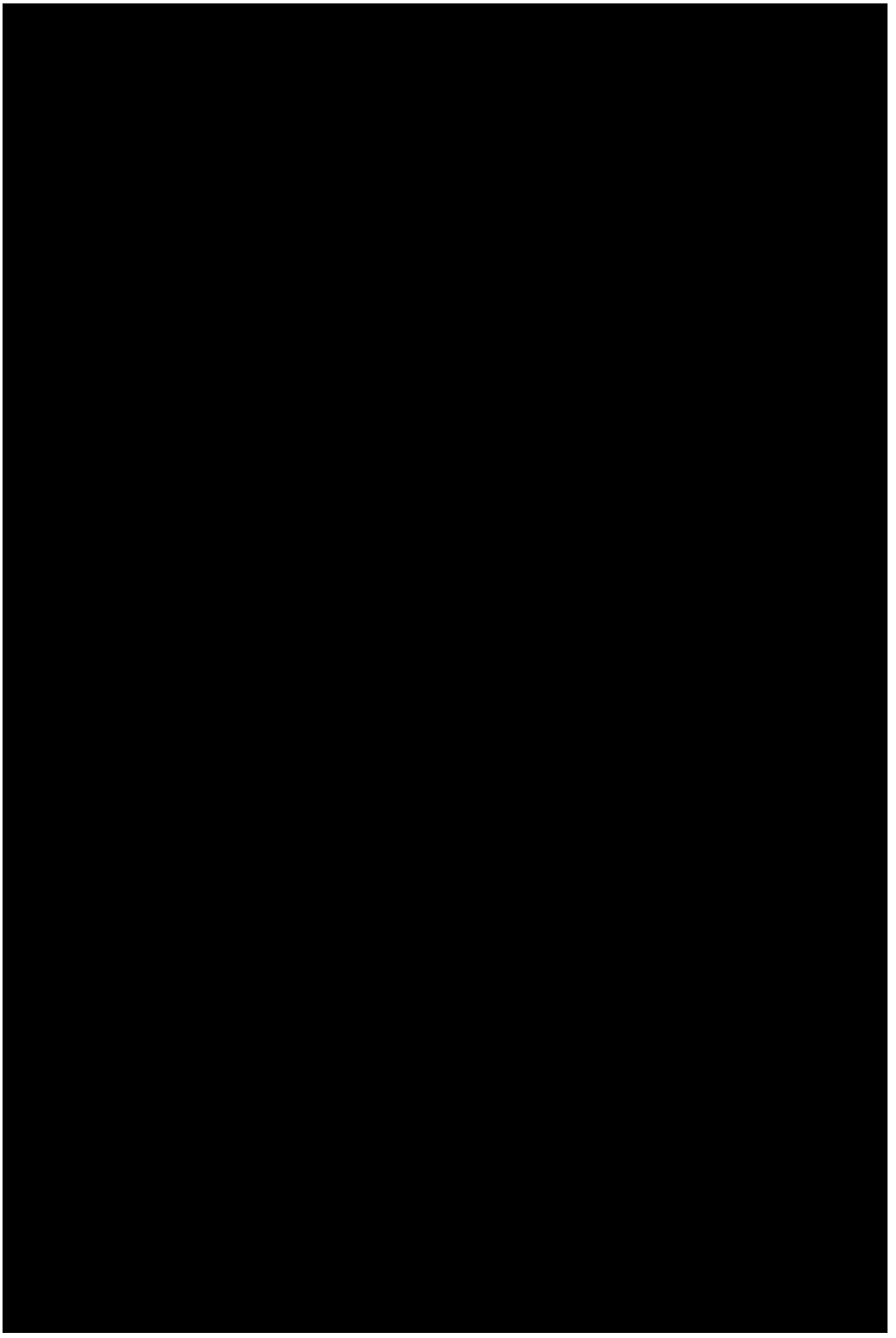
Gundiás, where Eduardo was born, is a hamlet in a land of tiny properties.



Eduardo senior (on the right) and his bus in 1934 helped the army in Asturias.



The workshop of Eduardo in Orense towards 1942.



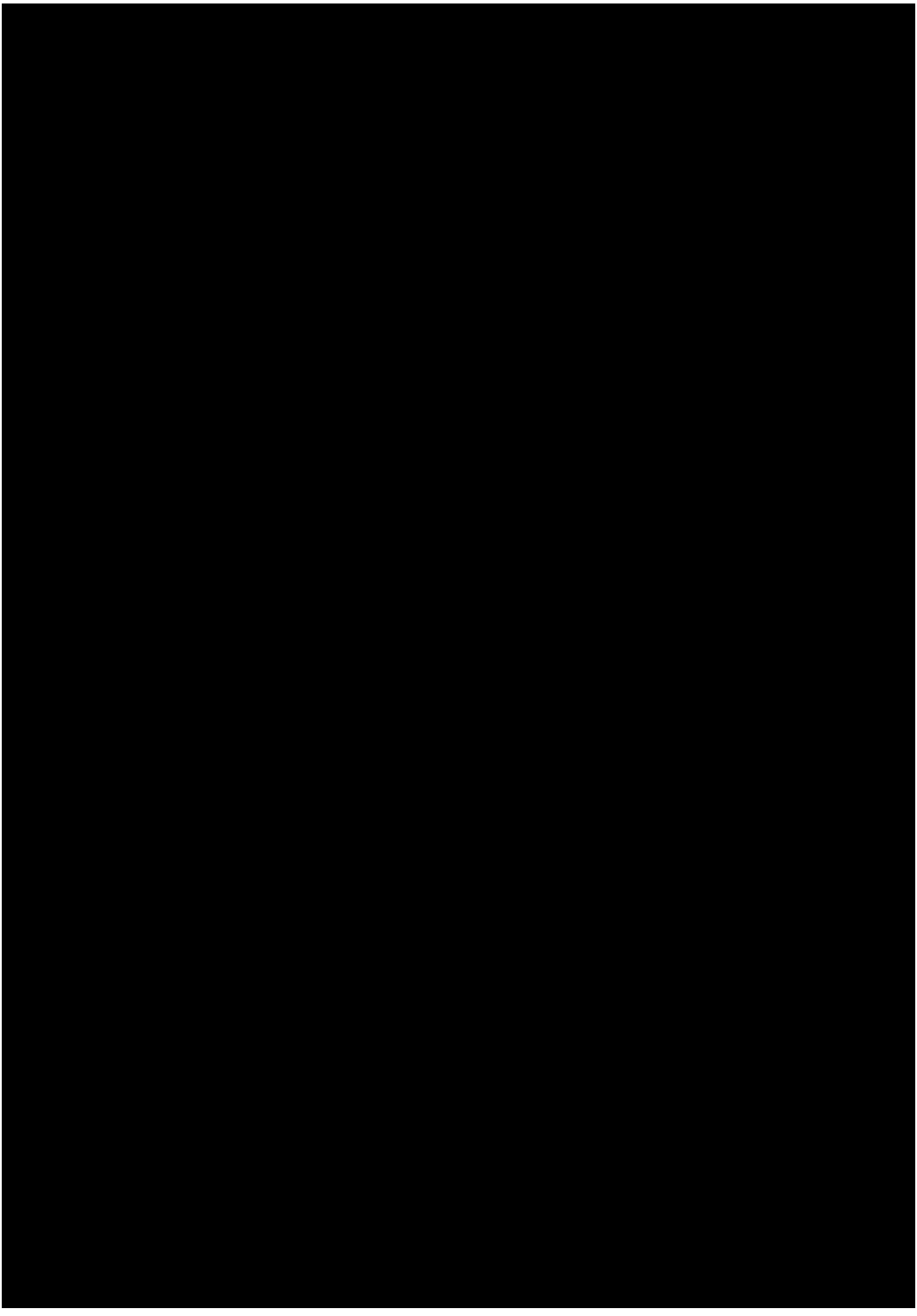
Work of repair on roads on behalf of Eduardo and his company BECOSA, in Orense, c. 1946.



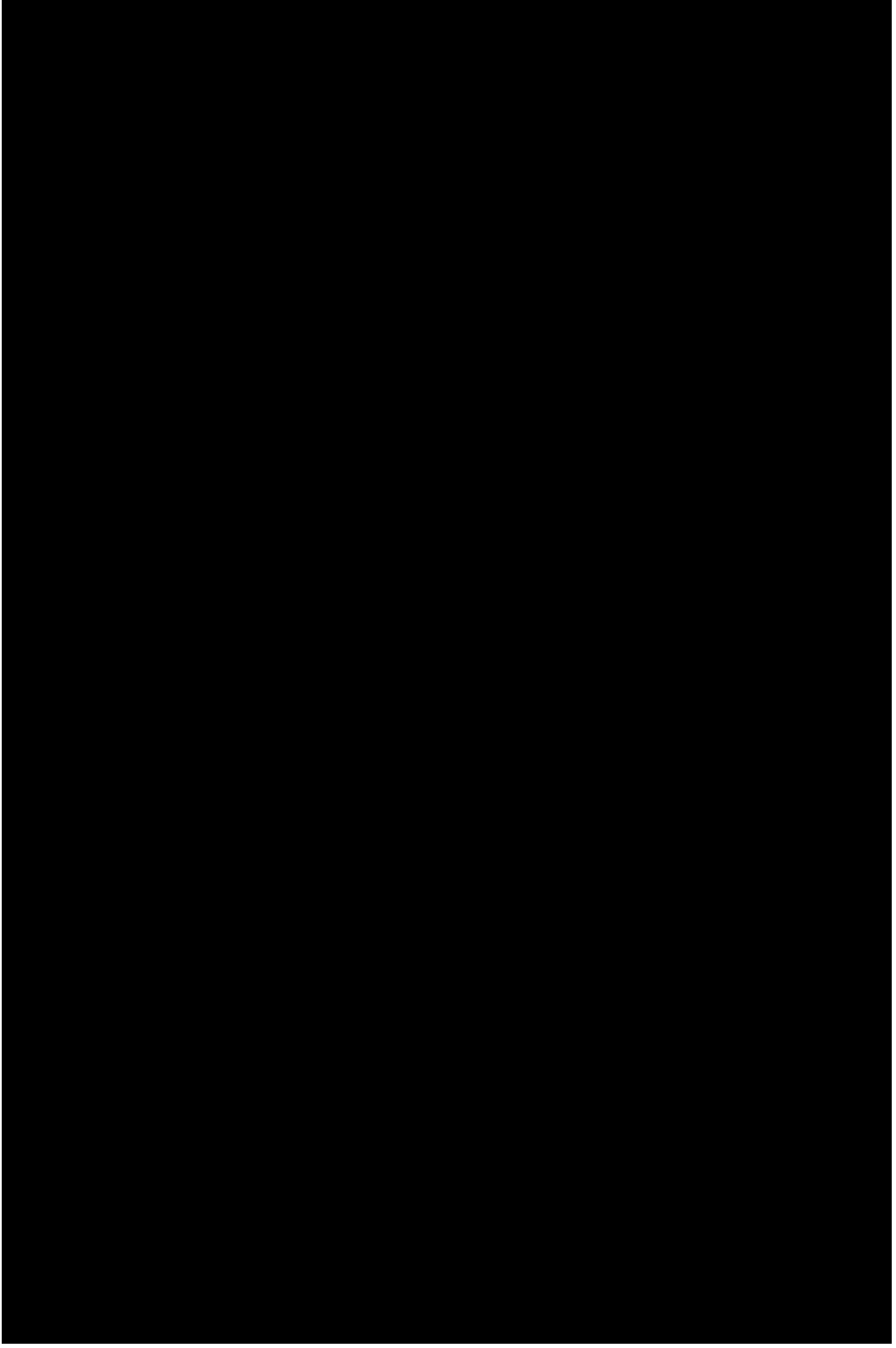
The gasoline-powered Krupp lorry was transformed to diesel (1951).



Aerial view of the factory at Villaverde in 1969.

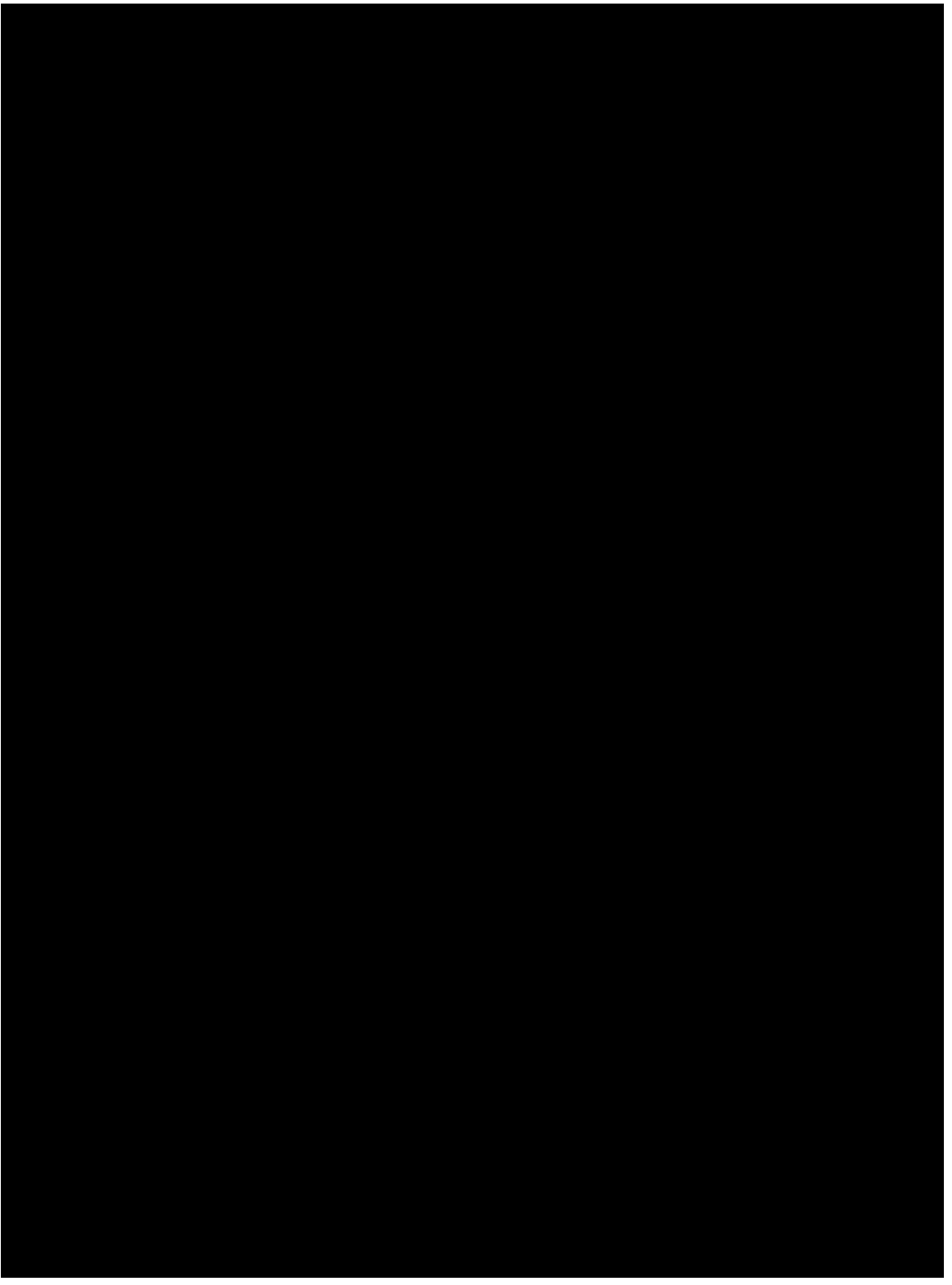


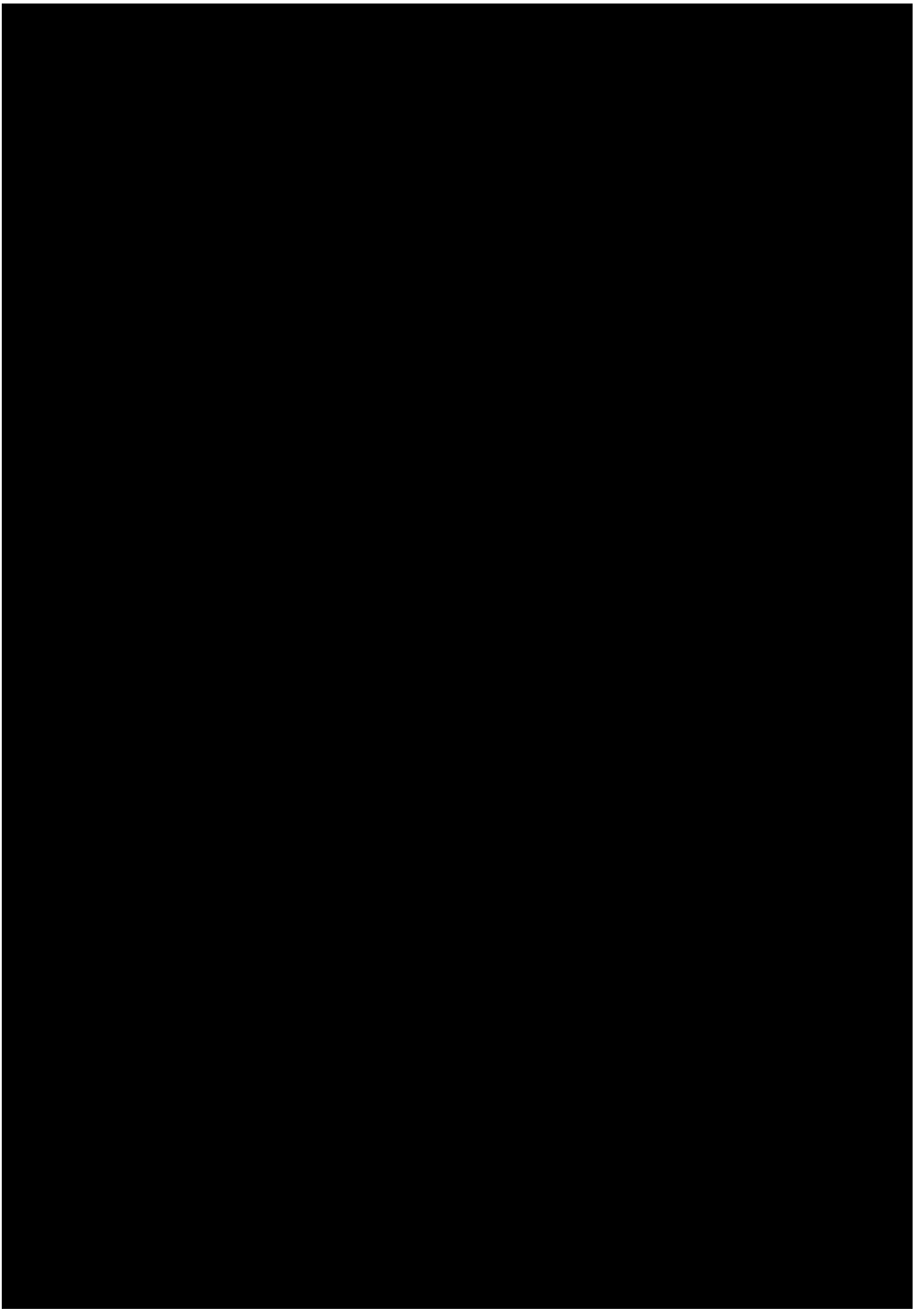
Barreiros in Madrid greets Eisenhower.



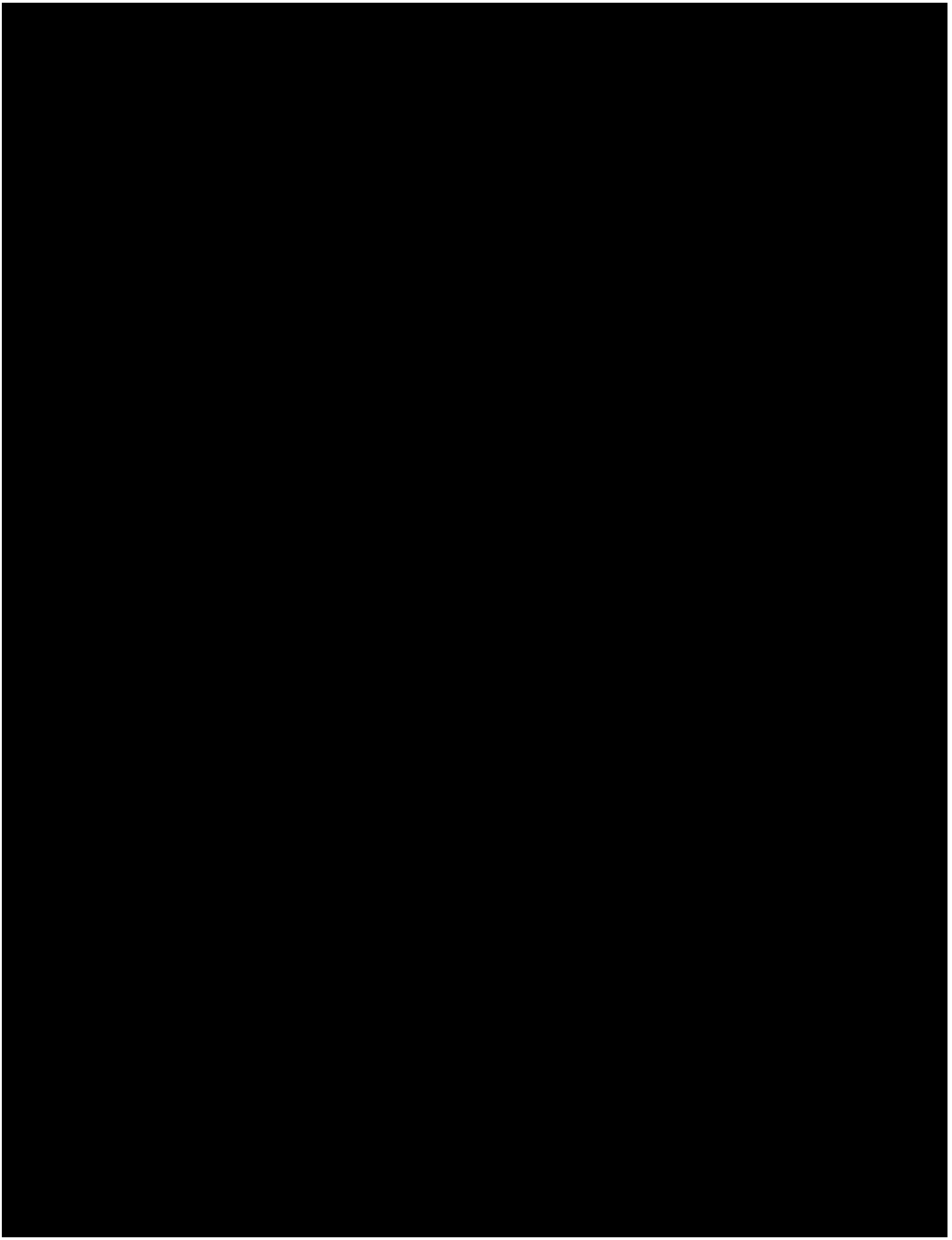
The older collaborators. In the first row: Celso, Eduardo, Graciliano, and Ignacio Liniers, c. 1960.

The special Barreiros lorries

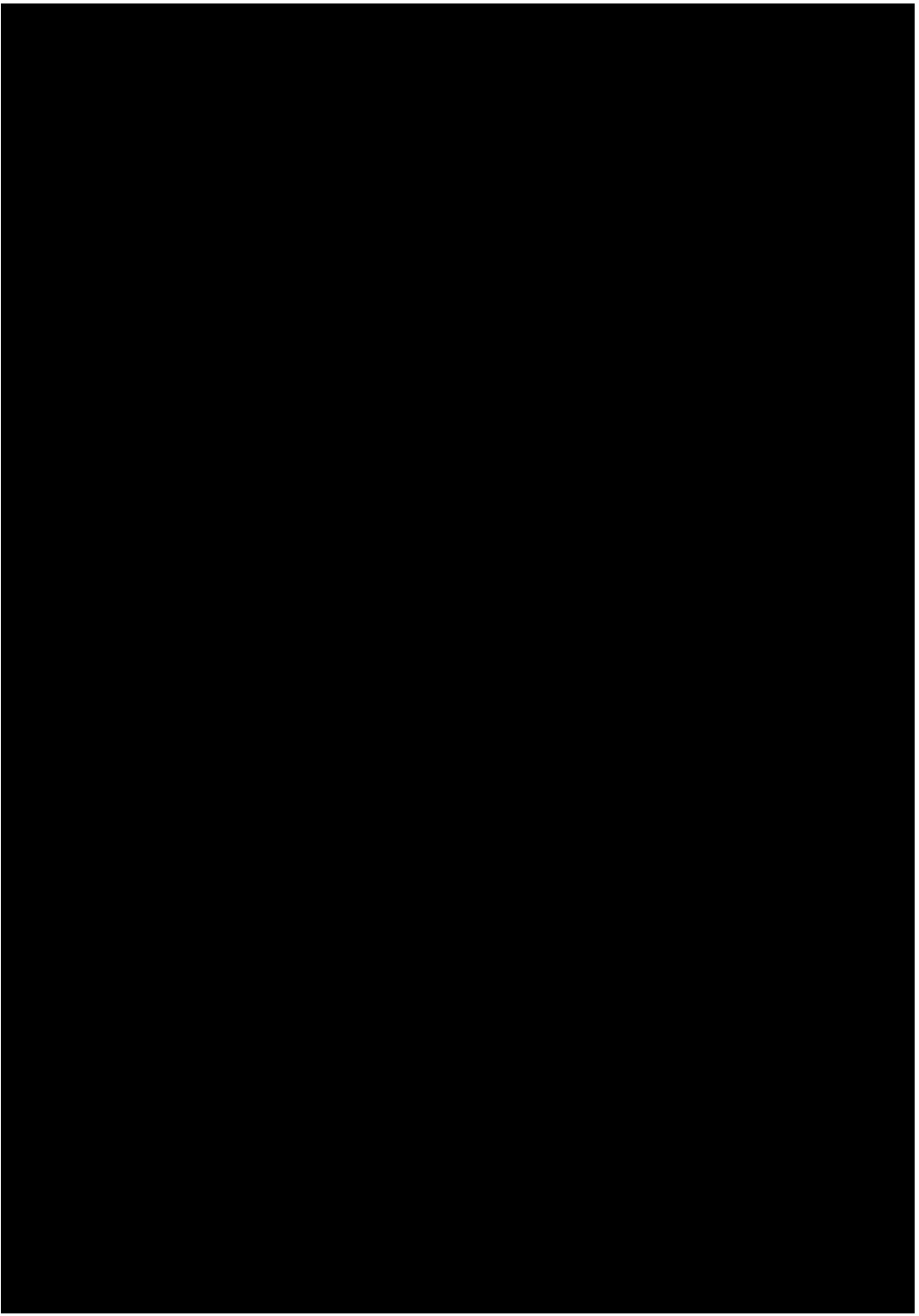




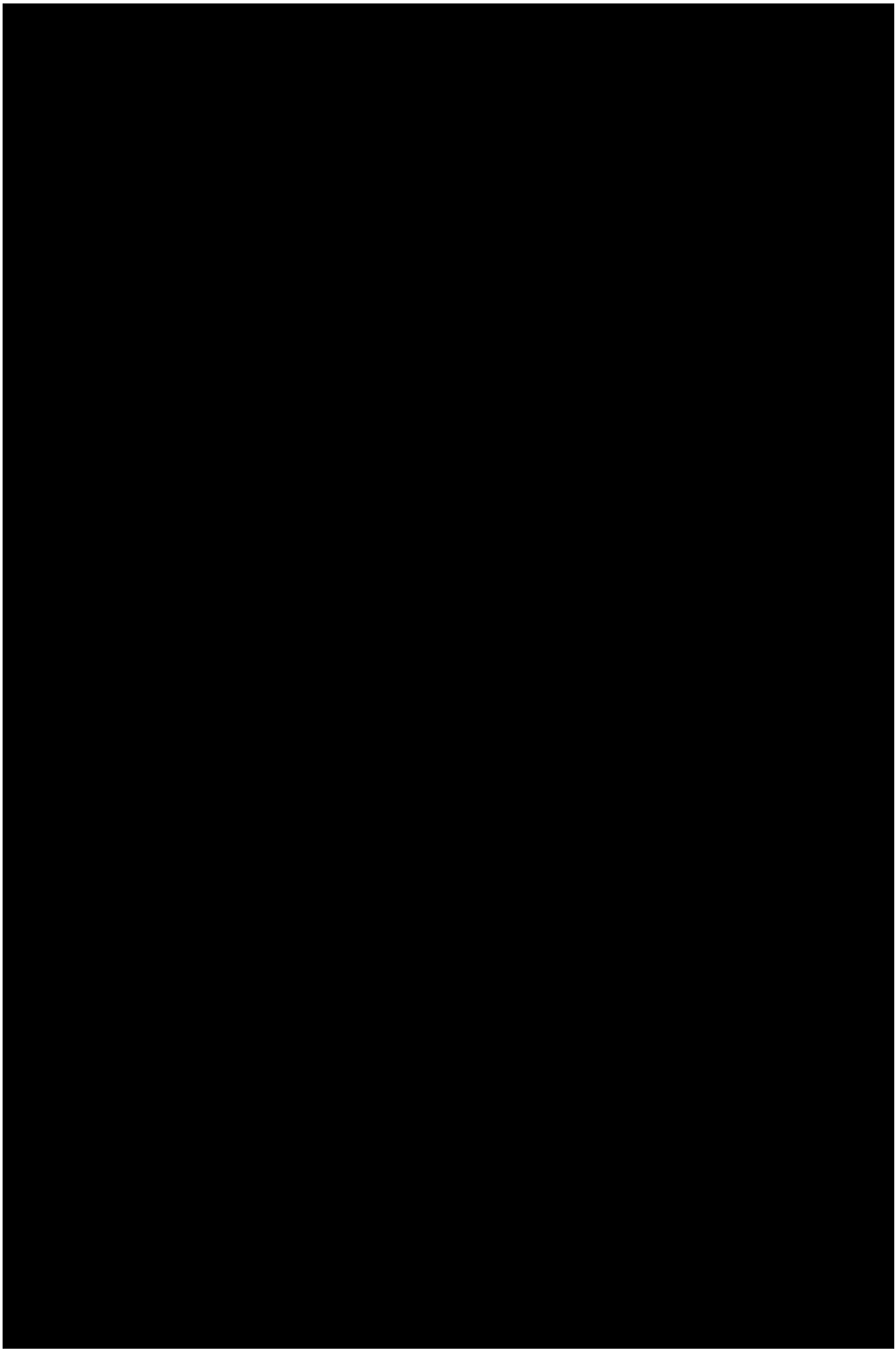
The military lorries set off for Portugal.



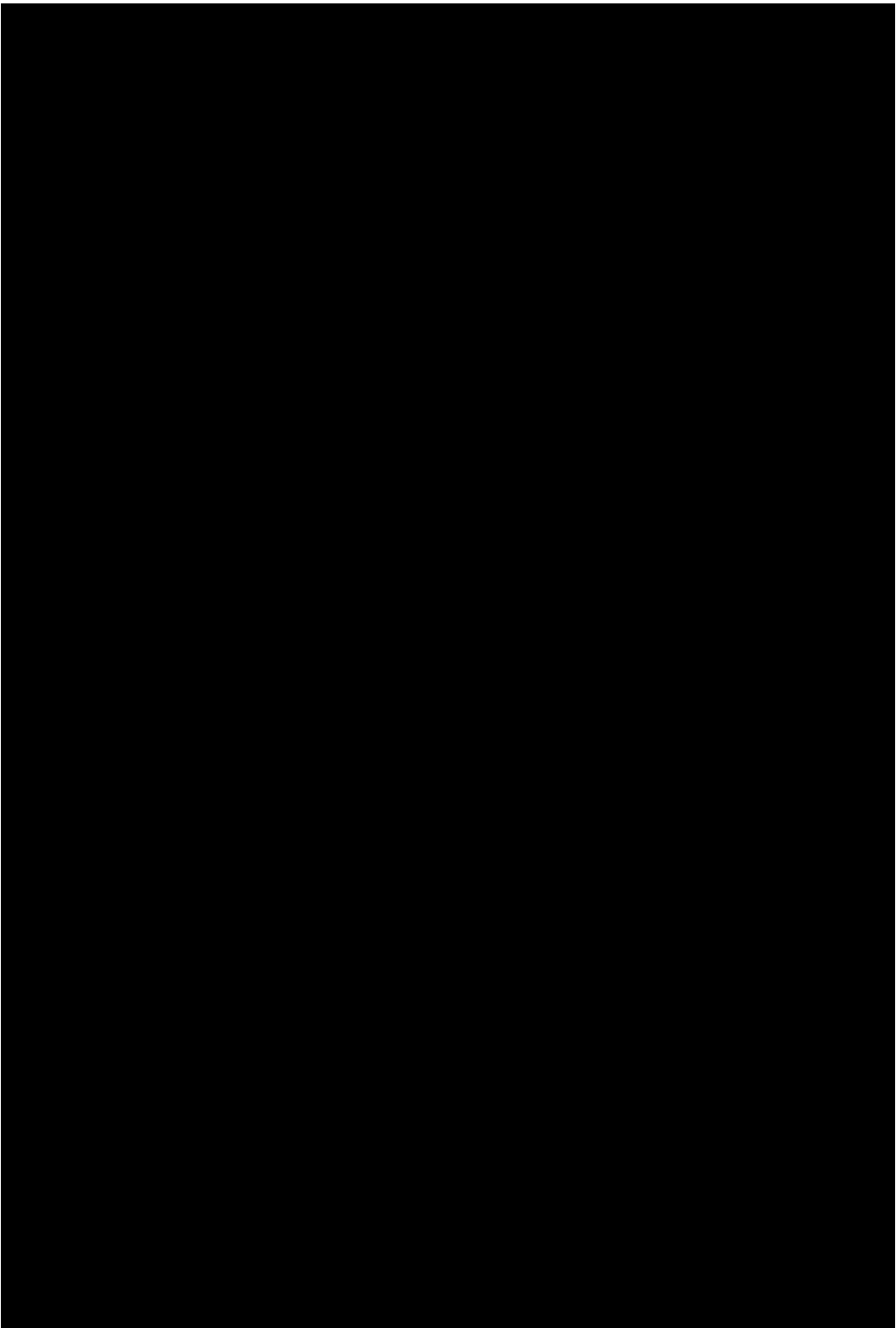
The Dodge Dart: the treasure that never sold.



The alliance of Barreiros with Chrysler: Eduardo launches the association.

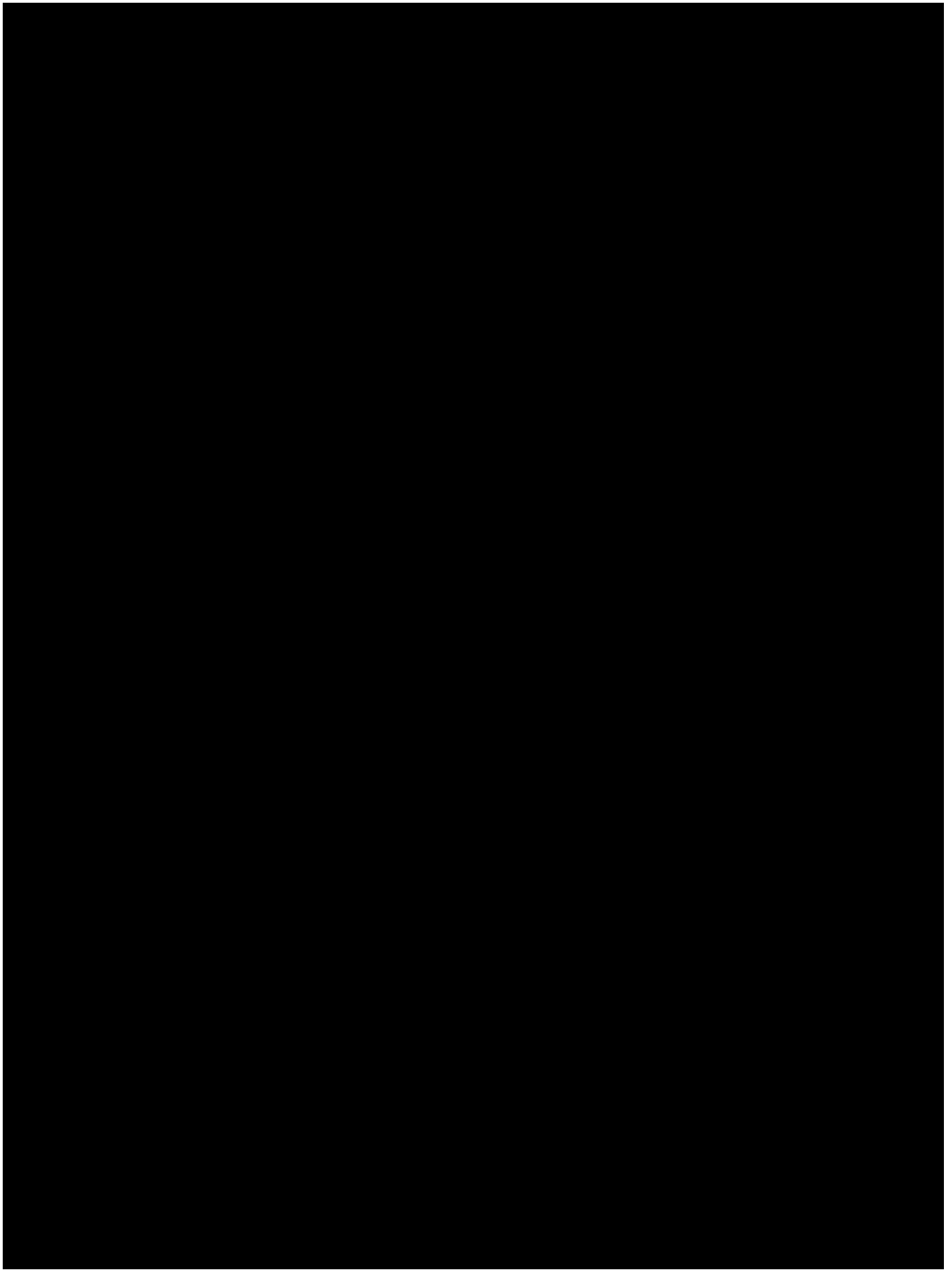


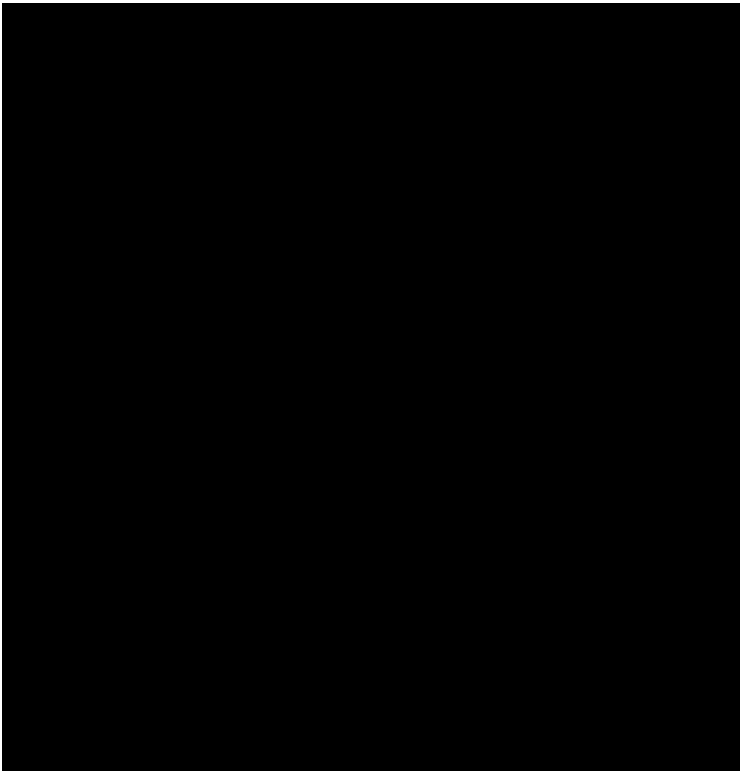
The Barreiros pavilion in the trade fair at Barcelona in 1961.



Barreiros vehicles ready for delivery to buyers.

Covers of the *Barreiros Review.*





Dorinda charms Franco at a shooting lunch, c. 1970.



Government by shooting party: Franco, Ullastres (minister of commerce), Graciliano, and Eduardo, c. 1970.



Eduardo buys a Beechcraft aircraft.

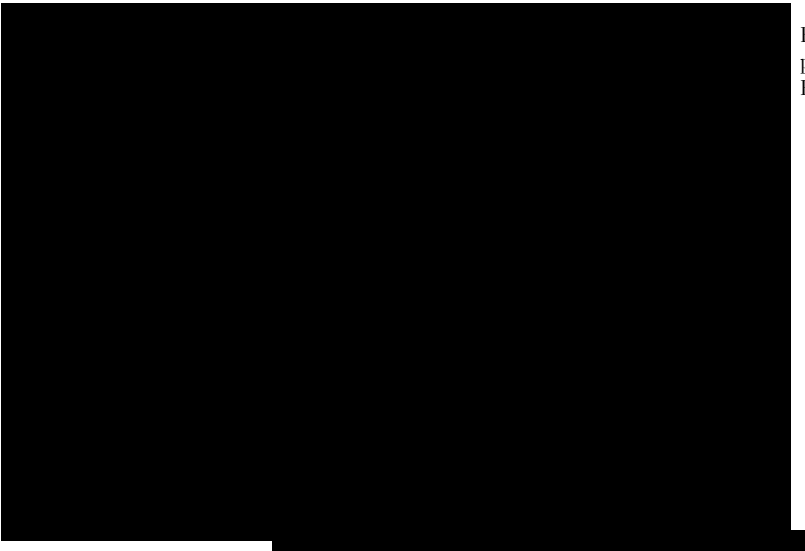


The adversaries of Eduardo: Minister of Industry López Bravo.

The adversaries of Eduardo: Juan Antonio Suanzes.

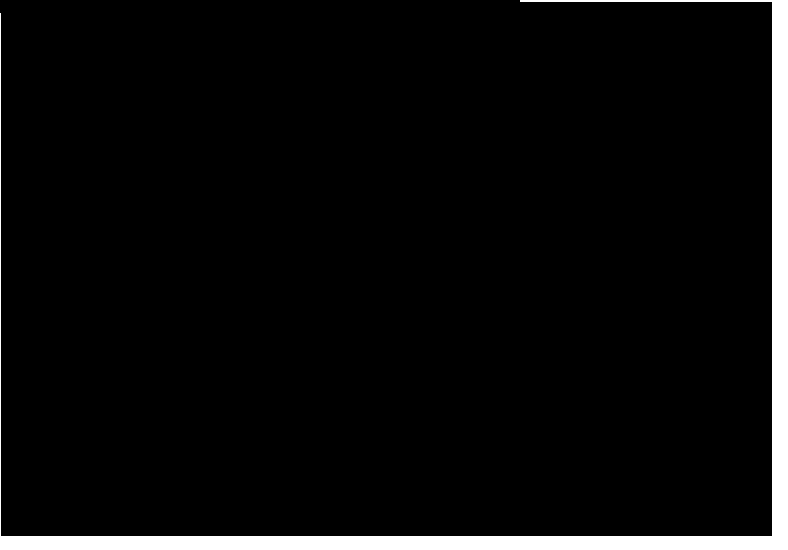
Eduardo leads a pilgrimage of workers to Santiago.





Eduardo-Javier wins a prize at the Colegio del Pilar, c. 1960.

The inner family: Eduardo-Javier, Dorinda, Eduardo, and Mariluz, in their house in the Avenida de la Castellana.





King Faisal of Saudi Arabia visits the factory.



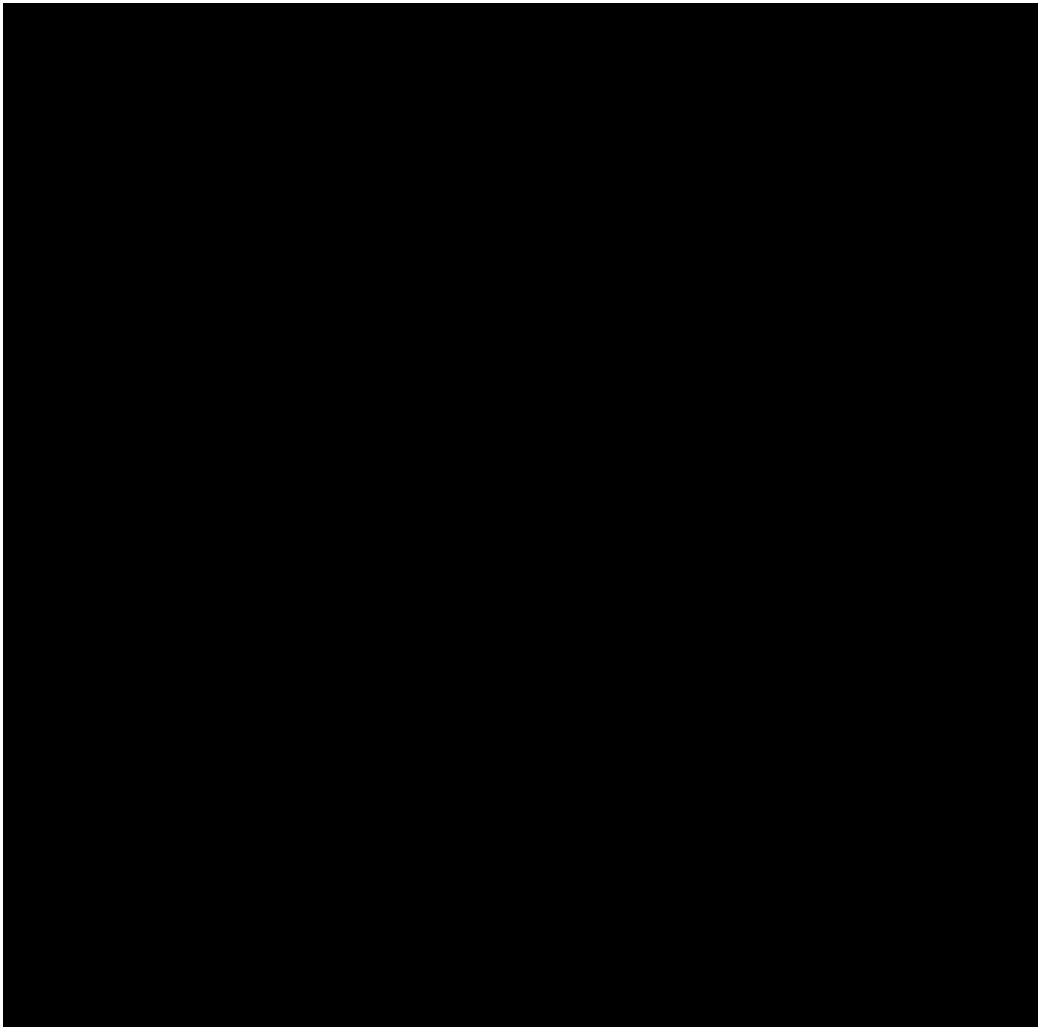
President Tshombe of Katanga visits the factory.



The family in the 1960s. Standing: Graciliano, Celso, Valeriano, Marta, Eduardo, Ignacio de Liniers. Seated: Mayte Spinola, María José Yuste, Dorinda, Luzdivina, and Mary Barreiros.



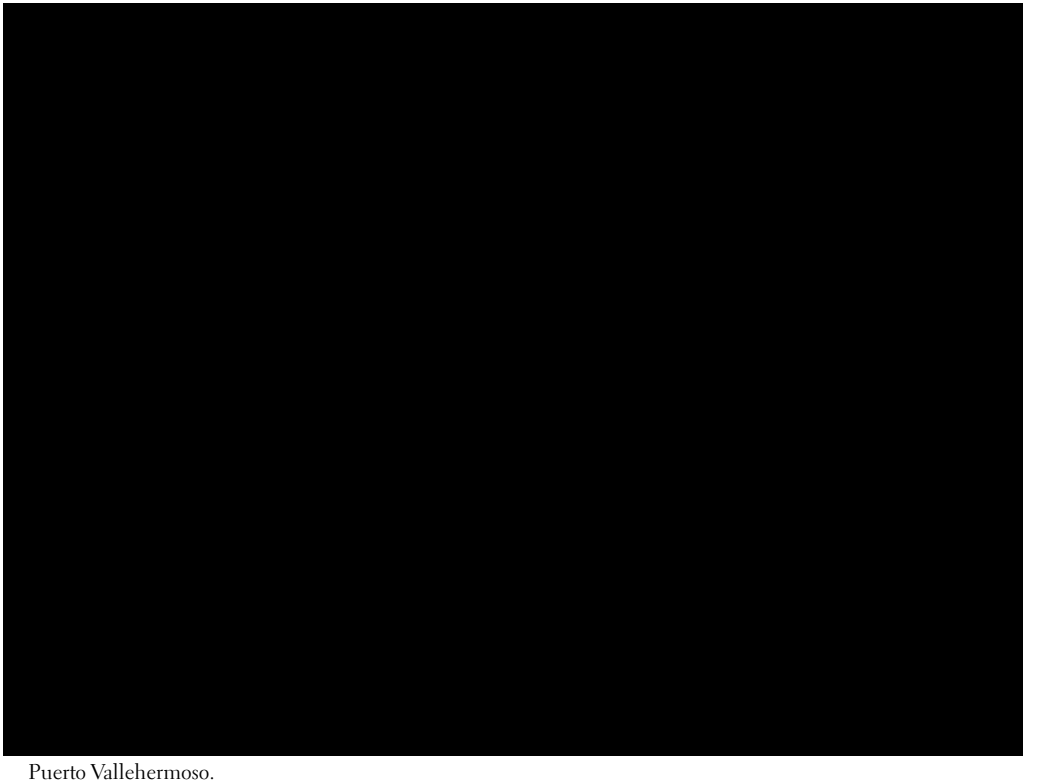
Eduardo in his office, c. 1968.



The funeral of Eduardo senior, c. 1964.



Eduardo in Puerto Vallehermoso, 1973.



Puerto Vallehermoso.



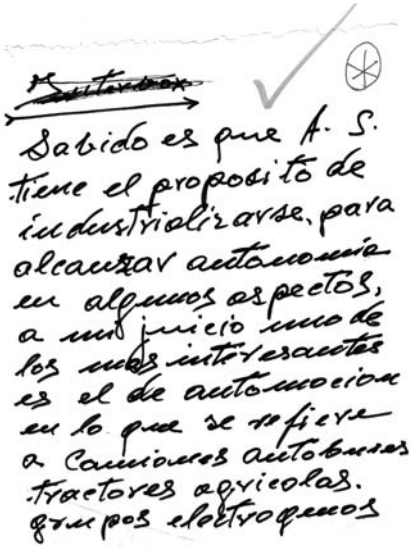
The Cuban temptation: Eduardo with Castro in 1979.

Eduardo signs an agreement with Carlos Rafael Rodríguez in 1980.





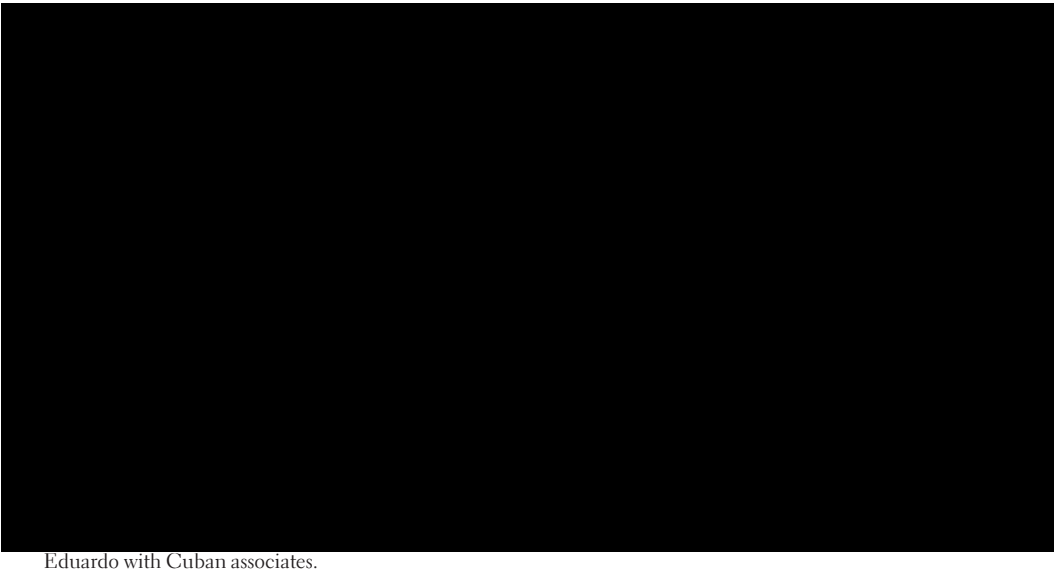
New lands to conquer: Eduardo, Cecilio González and Luis Olmedo in Moscow, 1986.


Sabido es que A. S.
tiene el propósito de
industrializarse, para
alcanzar autonomía
en algunos aspectos,
a mi juicio uno de
los más interesantes
es el de automoción
en lo que se refiere
a camiones autobuses
tractores agrícolas.
grupos electrógenos

The strong handwriting of Eduardo.

The Taino in Cuba.





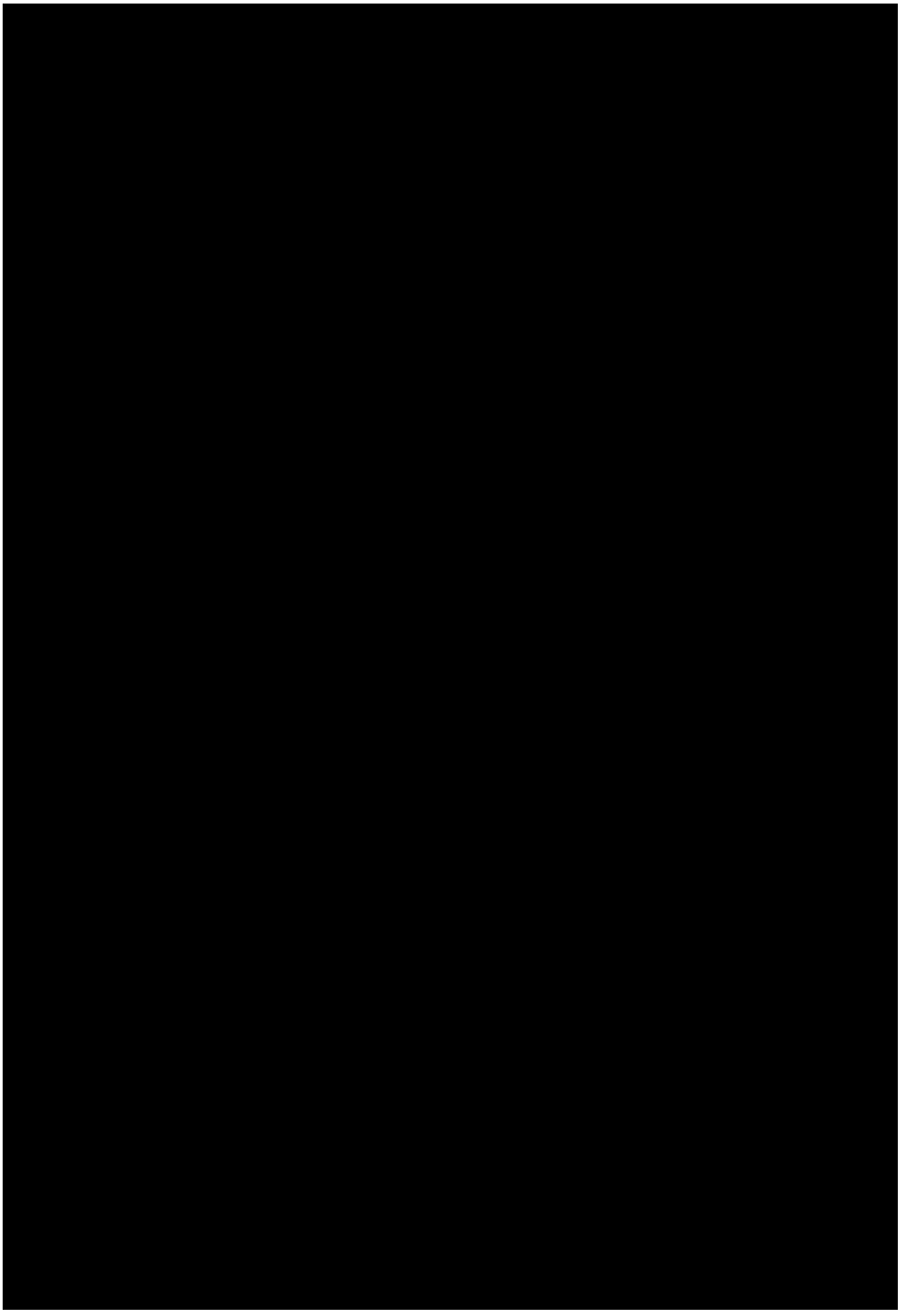
Eduardo with Cuban associates.



Eduardo explains how a motor works to the Cuban minister Marcos Lage, c. 1990.



A Cuban cane cutter: “La libertadora.”



Inauguration of Eduardo Barreiros Street in Villaverde. Here are Dorinda and Mariluz Barreiros with the then mayor of Madrid José María Álvarez del Manzano in 2000.

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Book V

Chrysler

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25

Boys Always Run After Motor Cars

The boys of my country always run after motor cars.

—*Alfonso R. Castelao,* Things

George Love, chairman of the Chrysler corporation in 1963, was an improbable person to be the captain general of a great company making cars, for he had spent most of his life as a coal merchant, latterly as chairman of the Consolidated Coal Company of Pittsburgh. He had been brought in to direct Chrysler after several setbacks affecting his predecessor, William Newberg, who had had to resign hastily. Love had the grace to admit: "I don't know what a carburettor is and I'm too old to learn." Tall, jovial, and seemingly easygoing, he was thought to be a man who could provide equilibrium to a big company in difficulties.

Love was, however, less well equipped to deal with a great company making vehicles than one that dug coal. The automobile industry is full of artists in the shape of inspired engineers or imaginative designers. Coalmen are often brave and strong, but few have time for original ideas.

In 1961, Love himself had asked the chief accountant of Chrysler, Lynn Townsend, to become the president, effectively the managing director. Love explained: "He is the right man because he is figure-minded. It used to be possible to control the company through personal contact. But when a company gets this big, you no longer know all the people. You can't see that so-and-so is 'loafing.'"[1] That was a dull way of looking at such matters.

The Chrysler Corporation at that time was still just under forty years old, yet it seemed an immortal part of the world's industrial scene. It had been founded by Walter Chrysler, a railwayman by formation, of Wamego, a small town on the Kansas River. The Chryslers had lived in the United States since the eighteenth

century, being in origin German: their name had once been Greisler. As a boy, Walter had been a door-to-door salesman selling milk from the family's cows.

Walter Chrysler built his first motor car in 1924 and established the Chrysler Corporation in Detroit a year later. His ambition was to build cars with a somewhat higher than average performance that could be created in numbers sufficient to keep the price down. He was successful in fulfilling this aim.

Chrysler had made enough money by 1928 to be able to buy the old Dodge Brothers' company from the bankers who then owned it, and to launch several new, soon famous, brands of car.[2] He also made Dodges. Chrysler became one of the three large manufacturers of cars in the United States (the other two were General Motors and Ford). In 1930, Chrysler had built the famous 1,000-foot Art Deco skyscraper named after him in New York, an elegant arrow directed at the heavens, designed by William van Alen.

During the second world war, Chrysler had a department in Detroit for building armaments—anti-aircraft guns, landmine detectors, searchlight reflectors, and above all, the famous Sherman tanks. The shift in the United States automobile business from making cars to making armaments was swift. Chrysler was soon controlling the biggest factory for tanks in the world, turning out nearly 4,000 tanks a month in comparison to that same number produced by Germany in a year.[3]

Chrysler had, however, weaknesses. First, it had been the most strike-ridden of the "big three" American manufacturers of automobiles—ten times more so than General Motors.[4] One historian of the firm thought that in the 1930s, weak management and poor leadership in the official unions had created a strong "shop-floor unionism."[5] In the 1950s, Chrysler considered it necessary to change its system of control in order to face, if possible face down, a new radical black movement.

Walter Chrysler, meantime, had resigned his presidency of the company in 1935. He had been succeeded by Kaufmann Keller from Pennsylvania, a strong conservative, particularly in respect of the design of cars, being concerned to maintain in them the headroom that had always been given, in traditional models, to hats. *Fortune* magazine wrote that the Chrysler of 1949 "may or may not knock your eye out, but they certainly will not knock your hat off."[6] Keller disliked streamlining. For these reasons, Chrysler after the war fell behind in both design and sales.

The company had some major successes, though, in the late 1940s: for example, the New Yorker, "the rich man's Chrysler," and the famous Crown Imperial, which was popular with leaders of the Mafia. Another historian of the business, Richard Langwirth, wrote of one designer, Herb Weisner, that his "chrome ap-

pliqués were done with the application of a Cellini."[7] Some still recall with nostalgia "the fluid drive" and "the broad chromium smile" of the postwar Chrysler. Others remember, too, "outwardly clumsy but beautifully constructed cars" such as the Town and Country, with its wooden panels of mahogany from Honduras.

Keller's successor was Lester Colbert. He had been a cotton buyer in Texas. He secured a good designer, Virgil Exner. But throughout his ten years as president of Chrysler, sales declined continuously from the old levels. That was because Colbert retained his predecessor's aversion to streamlining and, indeed, to anything modern. Colbert tried to modernise the structure of the company as opposed to the design of the cars, though Exner eventually produced a beautiful long-finned Chrysler in 1957. Next year came the equally elegant Dart designed by Giovanni Sevenuzzi. That, however, was an economic failure.

In 1958 Chrysler sold a mere 580,000 cars, the lowest figure since 1948, and the work force totalled 60,000, a new record low figure too, being 40 percent smaller than that of 1957. There was, too, a record number of strikes. One problem was that even in the United States, imported cars were beginning to constitute a challenge: "I see a bomb on the horizon," remarked Alex Sarantoz Tremulis, a Ford director at a meeting in 1954, "and its name is Volkswagen."

Colbert, his work incomplete, left the presidency of Chrysler in 1956 and the chairmanship in 1960. He was succeeded as president by his closest colleague, William Newberg, an engineer from Seattle. Almost immediately questions began to be asked about Newberg's interest in several of Chrysler's suppliers and he had to resign to face charges of "insider dealing." Colbert temporarily resumed power, but he was attacked at every turn by Newberg, converted overnight from intimate friend to bitter enemy. Colbert gave up again and in 1960 George Love was brought in from the coal industry. He made Lynn Townsend president—after he had asked seven others who had refused the job: among them, Vice President Richard Nixon.

Townsend could never have been a soulmate for Eduardo Barreiros, nor indeed for anyone in Spain. "Smart, facile and abrasive" and "a pure numbers man"[8] were two comments about Townsend. "Figures talk to Townsend," was another. He had had a hard childhood up in Michigan, and as a boy he had kept the accounts in his father's motor repair shop. Orphaned at fourteen, he worked his way through the University of Michigan as a teller in a bank. He was a wonderfully gifted accounting student. He then worked for a firm of accountants in Detroit before he was swept, like most of his generation, into the war, in which he worked as finance officer on the aircraft carrier *Hornet*.

After 1945, Townsend joined another accountancy firm that from 1947 man-

aged the Chrysler account. He became a partner in Chrysler in 1952, and in 1957, Chrysler's comptroller. By 1958 he was a vice president for its international operations. He was then a director in 1959. In December 1960, Townsend was named administrative vice president.

When Townsend took over Chrysler in 1961, the firm seemed in a poor condition. Its share of the American car market had fallen to 8.3 percent of all sales in the United States and it was by then the weakest of the "big three" motor car manufacturing companies in the United States. But it had retained since 1945 a strong military division, producing jeeps, armoured cars, and heavy tanks. Furthermore, the firm, though unimaginative, was not in debt.

For a time, Townsend seemed to bring fresh air since he surrounded himself with new vice presidents of genius, such as Virgil Boyd and John Riccardo, known as "the flame thrower." He began his presidency by dismissing 7,000 white-collar workers (saving $50 million), and he closed and sold several unnecessary plants. These and other such measures enabled Chrysler to earn a profit of about $20 million in 1961 on a sale of only 800,000 vehicles. The older workers in Detroit were also experiencing improvements in their living standards and union wage benefits, especially in pensions. Townsend increased the range of his products, too.

At the end of 1962, just about the time that Eduardo talked to George Love, *Time* magazine spoke of Chrysler as "the come-back story of US business." Townsend's grey face appeared on that magazine's cover, with the legend, "Towards a World Market."[9] Townsend was extending Chrysler's investment in SIMCA in France (it had bought 25 percent from Ford after 1958) and was known to be interested in Rootes of England. In January 1963, Chrysler increased its share in SIMCA to 63 percent.

Townsend had, however, shortcomings. With his accountant's approach to business, he seemed primarily preoccupied with what would allow the stock of Chrysler to rise on the market. Jeffreys, a historian of Chrysler, says that this president was "more concerned with what looked good than with what was really positive."[10] From being a great manufacturing company that produced well-engineered and original cars, counting on the loyalty of customers to ensure sales, Townsend concentrated on salesmanship, and his vice presidents left "styling boundaries" to be determined by General Motors.

Eduardo flew to New York with Dorinda in early 1963. It was his first visit to that city. The trip remained in his memory because, in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, where he had arranged to stay, he found a lift-man who turned out to be a Spaniard from Galicia. Eduardo jokingly asked him, "How is it that you are Gal-

lego and that you are not already the owner of this hotel?" The lift-man replied, "Don Eduardo, you ought to know that the owner is a Gallego."[11]

Then in the private plane of the president of Gulf Oil, Whiteford, the Barreiroses flew down to Pittsburgh. There they drove to a well-known club, Rolling Rocks, as guests of Whiteford, where Eduardo went shooting wild duck and pigeon.[12] They went on to Washington, again in the Gulf Oil aeroplane, dined with the Spanish ambassador, Antonio Garrigues, in the reopened Spanish embassy, and returned to Spain via New York.[13]

At some stage in this journey, Love and Townsend made Eduardo an offer: Chrysler would buy 40 percent of the shares of Barreiros Diesel. Eduardo recalled later, "Chrysler initiated contact with me offering to participate in Barreiros Diesel. I myself thought that could be important . . . if we could use the worldwide network of Chrysler for the sale of our products and they said 'yes' and I became excited by the idea of the global projection of our work and the great volume to be sold." Eduardo surely also thought that such a large investment in his firm by such a rich company would assist him in his current financial difficulties. Love recognised Eduardo's great qualities. He knew that he was the only motor manufacturer who could do everything in a factory.[14]

There had never before this been such arrangements between an American and a Spanish company. True, the "bases agreement" of 1953 had brought much collaboration between the United States and the Spanish military establishments. That had entailed some collaboration between some U.S. and Spanish companies.[15] The excellent World Bank report of 1963 would declare: "Foreign private investment has an important part to play in development."[16] It then went on to discuss the possibility of changing the legislation in respect of such investment. Here, however, was a famous United States company becoming a minority partner in a new, dynamic, and large Spanish one. The collaborations between Barreiros Diesel and David Brown, or with Hanomag or with AEC, much less Radcliffe, were on a far smaller scale.

Further, this association seemed in Spain to be a really reinvigorating idea for Barreiros Diesel, a new company in an old country. The United States, a new country as it still seemed to Europe, appeared to stand for the future. It was characterised by technological innovation, democratic vitality, and artistic creation. It was free and seemed innocent. *Welcome, Mr. Marshall* had been a successful if satirical film of 1952 made by Luis García Berlanga, inspired by the United States' decision to give economic help to Spain the previous year. The visit of President Eisenhower to Spain in December 1959 had been a success, and Eduardo's new offices in the Calle Alcalá, which overlooked the ceremonial route

travelled by the president and General Franco in their open car, had then been festooned with enthusiastic greetings.[17]

Eduardo did not immediately raise with his board of directors the matter of the proposed connection with Chrysler. On April 2, 1963, that body met in Alcalá 32. It was the first such meeting in ten months. Nothing was said of Chrysler, but everyone around the table knew of the possibilities ahead.

The following month Barreiros Diesel asked Íñigo Cavero, who had already been working for Eduardo, to negotiate the details of the deal with Chrysler. He had been present at the meeting ("el contubernio") of the opponents of the Franco regime in Munich in May 1962. That had not troubled Eduardo (nor indeed did it much interest him), and he continued to pay Cavero's retainer during his subsequent enforced residence in the Canary Islands.[18] Cavero remembered the negotiations with Chrysler as being most unusual. Not only was the proposed new partner paying a bonus on the surcharge that could leave the old shareholders better off, but the new partner had a special status.

Cavero's chief opposite number, working for Chrysler, was a clever English-speaking Spanish lawyer, Estanislao Chaves Viciana, married to an American, who would eventually play an important part in the history of the firm.

"I remember," Cavero wrote later, "that I said there and then to Eduardo: 'in associating yourself with an enterprise as important as Chrysler, you must take into account that, sooner or later, inevitably, the main partner will be Chrysler. Because there will come a moment when, even with your family's help, you will be unable to meet the demands for capital which you will need to raise.'"[19] Cavero claimed that he also said to Eduardo, "'You know, this is the end of the empresa.'" "Eduardo," Cavero thought, "knew that perfectly well but thought that he would have time to adjust."[20] Here Eduardo showed his ignorance of how large United States firms behave.

On June 26, 1963, Eduardo asked Valeriano to mention the offer of Chrysler formally to the board of directors:

> The vice president told the board the general lines of the agreement that had been reached with the famous North American company. The chairman expanded on this information, and pointed out that these agreements were interesting for the company.
>
> The chairman also expressed to the board, and the latter unanimously agreed on, the need to significantly raise the current share capital at the appropriate time. Thus, it was unanimously agreed to present Chrysler's offer to the general shareholders' meeting, at which the amount and characteristics of this capital increase would be decided, depending on how the negotiations devel-

oped. Furthermore, the board unanimously agreed to give the chairman a vote of confidence . . . to pursue the business and negotiations under way.[21]

There were no complaints from any of the directors on this issue. None took up a nationalist opposition. Valeriano apparently later thought that "the crisis" could have been solved in another way but he does not seem to have said so at the time.[22] Most of the directors, including Bordegaray and the directors from the Banco de Vizcaya, seem to have been delighted that the debts of Barreiros Diesel seemed likely soon to be paid off.

Nor was there much comment in banking circles close to Eduardo. Within the company, Juan Miguel Antoñanzas was against the sale to Chrysler, but he was not then in a senior position.[23] The assistants of Eduardo rejoiced in general. The change seemed one more piece of good news.

The negotiations between Barreiros and Chrysler were difficult. The Americans were surprised that that should be so, especially when the size of the firm's debt became known. The best picture of these discussions is that of the administrator (and novelist) José Fariña, who described how the accountants on the two sides negotiated patiently during the hottest months of the year about the real value of Barreiros Diesel, and how holidays for the directors were suspended for that year so that the accountants could if necessary examine them. Barreiros Diesel had previously never been valued, even informally.

In the factory there was much speculation as to what was going on. The workers had earlier been excited by the rumour of a merger with Jaguar or with Rootes. Now, after a period of disbelief that anything could come about in association with such a legendary enterprise as Chrysler, there was a recognition that Eduardo was about to carry through a great operation; that there might be much new work on offer; and that all salaries might be increased. Surely, millions of dollars would be poured into the empresa. Would not all financial problems vanish? Instead of Valeriano and Carranza, and sometimes Eduardo himself, having to go cap in hand to the banks, the banks would in future seek to borrow from the empresa.

Chrysler's auditors actually had a difficult time. At first they seemed to their associates in Barreiros not only inexperienced but naïve, unseeing, incompetent. In the end, they impressed their Spanish equivalents by the meticulousness of their questioning, their pertinacity, their patience, and their positive curiosity about, for example, what had come to be known in the U.S. as the "creative accounting" practised by Barreiros Diesel, along with every other large company in Spain at that time.

Once the auditors had reached agreement on figures, the lawyers of the two sides took almost the same length of time drawing up the contracts, in, of course, two languages.

Cavero found some of the negotiations with Chrysler in Detroit "pretty hard, yes." He remembers "being afraid that we could be listened in upon when we spoke in the hotel, so [Francisco] Chaves and I unrolled a kind of phosphorus curtain in the windows where we put the telephone, creating a sort of cabin from which we could not be heard."[24]

Despite all this, at the end there had to be a week of "horse-trading" between the principals—Eduardo and Estanislao Chaves. Agreement had to be reached. At the end, Eduardo said that he had made so many concessions that he could make no more. The American lawyers then consulted Townsend and Love by telex—not telephone—and an agreement was decided. So, as a result perhaps of mutual exhaustion, a figure was reached for the value of the empresa: 2,700 million pesetas, or $50 million.

Contracts were drafted, and signed on October 1, 1963. Russell Longon, president of Chrysler International, came to announce the treaty of cooperation jointly with Eduardo. Other Chrysler grandees were there too: Love, the chairman of the corporation; W. R. Williams, director of the Mediterranean division; and A. N. Cole, the financial director.

The new popular goddess, television, now well rooted in Spain even if censored, was present as of course were the radio and the press. Eduardo offered everyone a Spanish omelette and whisky. Longon promised that the new partnership would maintain the old traditions of Barreiros Diesel, while Eduardo spoke of the benefit of being able to use, for their exports, the great Chrysler international network of sales. This seemed his chief interest at that time. There were handshakes, cameras, more omelettes. A shining new Dodge Dart was exhibited.[25]

There was ample coverage in the press. The *New York Times* spoke especially enthusiastically of the new arrangement on October 2. The *Financial Times* spoke of Chrysler's investment as the largest ever made by any foreign company in Spain.[26]

The final terms of the contract in sixteen paragraphs between Chrysler and Barreiros Diesel were that the former would buy 40 percent of the capital of the latter for $19.8 million. The contract stipulated that Chrysler's vehicles would be made in Spain—not simply saloon cars (*turismos*) but also light Dodge trucks. Chrysler would make available to Barreiros Diesel all technical assistance that the latter thought necessary and would train Barreiros Diesel personnel in its best use. There were several paragraphs that dealt with industrial secrets. The

Barreiros management also undertook an alarming provision, to install as soon as possible and thereafter use "the Chrysler system of accounting including the Chrysler corporation's 'Balance sheet,' 'operating statements' and 'control accounts,' as specified in Chrysler Corporation Comptroller's manual in its latest form."[27]

Did Eduardo realise what he was letting himself and his colleagues in for in these respects? Eduardo, it seems, was impressed, as well he might be, by the knowledge that Chrysler's investment would be the largest American one outside the United States that year. The contract specified that if either party wanted to sell any part of its holding, the other party would have first refusal instead of an outsider. Chrysler would give Barreiros Diesel an exclusive licence in Spain to make, assemble, and sell its vehicles, as well as to supply all the technical aid needed or wanted. An increase of capital in the company would be forthcoming to the tune of 700 million pesetas, in two sections: (A) of 300 million pesetas reserved for existing shareholders; and (B) of 400 million pesetas that, after a renunciation of any preferential right by the old shareholders, would be offered to Chrysler International, with a bonus of just over 9,000 pesetas per share.

Chrysler's investment would thus total 1.185 million pesetas for shares that had a nominal value of 457 million pesetas—a purchase which could scarcely be considered low.[28]

Fernández Baquero later commented that to say that Eduardo "did not see the wolf under the sheepskin of Chrysler in 1963 would be to forget the undeniable short-term benefits whereby the debts of Barreiros Diesel would be paid off entirely in two years, and by the manufacture, so it was supposed, of high-class saloon cars in a 'virgin' market."[29]

The arrangements did have some obvious immediate disadvantages so far as the Barreiroses were concerned. First, Chrysler would not offer a wide range of cars in Spain: for the time being, they were planning only to offer the Dodge Dart, which they had already made in the United States and, after some time, the SIMCA. These were not the small, cheap cars that Spain needed. Here Eduardo made a mistake explicable by his pleasure at having a close association with a giant. He knew that there were some newly rich Spaniards who wanted what was nicknamed an "*Haiga*"—so called because it was supposed that these new people wanted a rich car, the best there was, "el mejor que haya," which last word the new rich were supposed to mispronounce "*haiga*." The Dodge Dart was a four-door "Berlin" 170.

A young Orensano lawyer who worked with Cavero at this time and did so later for Eduardo, Javier González Gurriarán, said, "We could all see that Chrysler would force us into making more and more investments of a size and

on a scale that a family firm could not afford. Valeriano was, from the beginning, preoccupied. But Eduardo was not, at least not at that time [1963]. He was only concerned with two things: selling his lorries and making his turismos."[30]

Fernández Quintas thought with hindsight, "We chose the worst possible partner . . . because Chrysler had absolutely no experience in the European market. Ford or General Motors [which did have such experience] would have been much better."[31] But as we have seen, those two companies would not have agreed to let Barreiros Diesel continue under that name. Fernández Quintas pointed out, too, that Chrysler as a company knew nothing of tractors nor of lorries. Then he added, "Townsend, the president and effective controller of Chrysler, was just an accountant. How could it be supposed that a person like that could collaborate with a genius such as Eduardo?"[32]

One point that Eduardo overlooked was that as a matter of course, Chrysler cars were large. "There will never be a small Chrysler" was a phrase remembered of C. E. Briggs, a well-known Chrysler man of the old days.

Eduardo met the managers of his company a week or two after October 1. About half a dozen directors-general came to hear what was likely to befall them with the new arrangements. They heard how the factory at Villaverde would be remodelled for the manufacture of the Dodge Dart and the SIMCA. They heard how there would be new American directors. Money would soon be flowing.

The two leading directors-general in Barreiros Diesel took opposing views. Carranza seemed optimistic, Fernández Baquero the contrary.[33]

Horacio Pérez Vázquez later commented: "If Don Eduardo had not been interested in the manufacture of automobiles, he would have surely maintained a great European factory for lorries that might still be working as such. But he was determined to build motor cars. It is hard to say that that was a mistake. Spain certainly needed automobiles. It needed them by paying by instalments too, which was really another of the inventions of Eduardo."[34]

At much the same time as the conclusion of Eduardo's alliance with Chrysler, the seemingly eternal Suanzes at last resigned from the presidency of INI; or, to be more accurate, Franco at last accepted the resignation of Suanzes. They exchanged letters politely enough, though Franco thought that Suanzes was demonstrating "instability." They never met again. So Eduardo Barreiros's old antagonist vanished from Spanish economic life at the same time as his own apotheosis. But he would have enemies yet.

26

A University of Work

From a production of one [truck] a day, we passed to six a day."

—*Estenle Suárez Fernández*

For the next five and a half years, October 1963 to May 1969, the life of Barreiros Diesel and its remarkable factory at Villaverde was increasingly marked by a *kulturkampf*, a struggle of cultures, the Spanish and the North American. The ways of Barreiros Diesel and Chrysler were opposed. Neither was able to adapt to the other. It was no one's fault. But the chasm was profound. The list of ways in which Barreiros was supposed to adapt in respect of accounting in the contract of October 1963 was only a beginning.

To begin with, these comments would have seemed too dramatic. For Eduardo and his friends seemed still in power at the fábrica. To John Fitzpatrick, the architect of his friendship with Chrysler, Eduardo seemed on what he engagingly called "cloud nine." He was proud of his new friends and of their likely contribution to his undertaking. He had a right to be: to persuade the third biggest motor manufactory in the world to take a minority holding in the family firm that he had founded was a triumph. *Business Week* in November 1965 thought that Eduardo, in making these arrangements with Chrysler, had "brought off the biggest coup of his life."[1] All the cards seemed in Eduardo's hands. Barreiros Diesel was by now the third biggest Madrid manufacturing undertaking—after RENFE, the state railway company, and Hidroeléctrica or Iberduero Standard Electric.

Eduardo was still living with all his family, even if Graciliano, then Valeriano, and then even Celso married in 1963 and 1964.[2] The offices of Barreiros were in Alcalá 32, still one of the noblest streets in the world. Most of Eduardo's fellow

workers were also beginning to live well, for Barreiros Diesel was still promoting housing in its model city, La Ciudad de los Ángeles.[3]

In 1964 Eduardo took the initiative in buying a large computer (an IBM-360) which, it was hoped, would enable him and his colleagues to observe the activities of the smaller dependent companies. In 1966 he went further and established a *teleproceso* network and an IBM-1050 with ten terminals. Soon after, a computer room was established at Villaverde, with its own IBM-1140 (6kb) as well as a Bull General Electric 415 (32kb).[4] These large computers were pioneering machines in Spanish business.

Eduardo also bought a Beechcraft Aero commander in 1965, a plane that enabled him to visit his Spanish points of sale in a single day. The airline Iberia could not make the connections. The Beechcraft was the first private plane in Spain to be able to carry ten passengers.

Honours too began to come Eduardo's way. In 1963, Eduardo received the medal of civil merit. There was a banquet in Eduardo's honour in March 1965 at the Palace Hotel in Madrid, with speeches made by the minister of information and tourism, the *lucense* Manuel Fraga, as well as the experienced secretary of the movement, José Solís, and others by General Lobo, the chief of the society of Gallegos in Madrid and still a modest shareholder in Barreiros Diesel, and by the mayor of Orense.[5]

A citation in May 1965 for another honour, the gold medal of merit in work, was more informative. It described how Eduardo had brought work to 16,000 Spaniards, mostly in Villaverde. There was too "el jardín," a *guardería* where the children of workers were welcomed during the day, the loans for the purchase of homes, the free transport for everyone who worked in the factory, indemnifications for accidents or illnesses, and many other signs of the preoccupation of Eduardo to pursue the moral, as well as the material, improvement of the workers on whom he depended. He had, it seemed, created a real, if micro-, welfare state.

The young journalist Juan Luis Cebrián commented years later, "We Spaniards began to understand that something very important was happening in our country, suggesting that we were capable of creating marvels, and we became conscious of the existence of the fundamental importance of a high-grade communication and transport system."[6] The workers at Villaverde generally had too a sense that the association with Chrysler was a great step forward for them—as for Spain.[7]

Eduardo believed that his relations with the Americans would be so good that all kinds of opportunities would soon open to him and Barreiros Diesel. It would not be just assistance in exports. The plans in relation to the one-time French car SIMCA were a case in point: Eduardo was quick to create a new building at

Villaverde to assemble and then make a Spanish version of the SIMCA 1000, 63 percent of whose parent company in Poissy-Yvelines, eighteen miles west of Paris, had been bought by Chrysler in January 1963.

Two representatives of Barreiros Diesel, José Fariña and Belarmino Peña, went to Poissy to see how SIMCA worked, how exactly the 17,000 or so workers there were employed, how 250,000 models of the SIMCA 1000 had been made, and how 120,000 had been exported.[8] After a contract was signed on July 16, 1964, between Eduardo and Georges Hereil, president of SIMCA, Hereil would regularly come to Madrid and, another change for autarchic Spain, join Eduardo's board of directors in December 1964.[9]

More important, there would be the Dodge Dart, a fine, luxurious motor car that had sold well in the United States.[10] A few of these jewels had already been sold in Spain between 1960 and 1964.[11]

Eduardo thus would have not only his own motors (7,700 made in 1963), his tractors (3,200 made that year), his buses (about 1,250 already built, of which 750 were Barreiros, and 500 Tempo Onieva, with its Hanomag connection including microbuses for ten passengers), his lorries of various tonnages—military lorries included (5,000 made)—but also his saloon cars (*turismos*).[12] At that time, Eduardo was making about half the Spanish vehicles that were exported. His production of lorries had, as we have seen, already reached a figure higher than that of ENASA. Thirty-two different types of motor were then being made in the fábrica.[13]

The Banco de Vizcaya, still a collective shareholder of Eduardo's but a sharp critic where necessary, remained impressed. Bordegaray, Eduardo's friend and ally in that institution, thought that the "integration" of Chrysler with Barreiros could only increase the prestige of the latter and would contribute to dispel that climate of reserve which sometimes, without any justification at all, had grown round that business. (Bordegaray considered that one of the reasons was that Barreiros Diesel was still supporting Eduardo's old construction company, BECOSA, which was in those days active as builder, road builder, and refurbisher all over Spain, including in Orense. It had helped in assisting the creation there of an industrial suburb, the Polígono de San Ciprián.)[14]

The list of activities of BECOSA is indeed astonishing. From 1962 we find BECOSA engaged in the construction of a new police headquarters in Seville; the provision of drinking water from Vadiello to Huesca; 300 dwellings for the Obra sindical del Hogar en Tiro de Línea, Seville; the building of the Instituto Nacional de Enseñanza in Gerona; networks, causeways, drains, and roads in order to irrigate the zone of Maravanas Charco-Rizañas in El Carpio Córdoba; the building of 384 dwellings, porters' houses and shops in Ginegueta, Barcelona;

the building of new dwellings in Bañolas, Gerona; 540 dwellings en Utrera, Sevilla; the creation or the improvement of factory works at kilometres 5 to 9 of the main road between Córdoba and Málaga; a network of causeways and drains on the Pisuerga Canal between Vallarna and Ucieza (Palencia); 210 charity dwellings in Comillas, Madrid; 480 dwellings, 32 shops, and 4 apartment houses in Manresa, Barcelona.

The Banco de Vizcaya certainly recovered its confidence in Barreiros Diesel after the arrangements with Chrysler were completed. That did not prevent it from continuing where necessary to insist on their guarantees in relation to loans. But it now saw its way to making available more credit to most of the dependent companies: for example, DITASA, up to 40 million pesetas; GISA, up to 90.5 million; CABSA, up to 31 million; CEESA, up to 38 million; Barreiros-AEC, 45 million; David Brown–Barreiros, 70 million pesetas; and Barreiros Diesel itself, up to no less than 570 million pesetas.

In the summer of 1964, Bordegaray summarised what his bank thought were Barreiros Diesel's most important activities in a letter to his colleague, Nebreda, then head of the bank's commercial department. He described how the firm was launching new vehicles of 4.5 and 5.5 metric tons with the aim of competing in the market for lorries of that tonnage (this constituted 20 percent in Spain of all such vehicles). He added that Eduardo was also planning a Super Azor "Gran Ruta" of twelve tons, which was already known as the "Camión Pescadero"—for many of these vehicles would be bought by a powerful fishing cooperative, "Transpesca," in Huelva, in order to make the journey to Madrid or Barcelona at an average of thirty-five miles an hour. If the driver left Huelva at 6:30 P.M., he could expect to arrive at Madrid by dawn: a final defeat for Pegaso, as it was said.[15]

Eduardo seemed himself in those days of the early 1960s to be becoming a social as well as a political success. Not only did he meet General Franco at shoots, but Eduardo himself began to give splendid *cacerías* in a finca, at Villasequilla, which he had rented from the town hall of the village so named between Toledo and Aranjuez—the luncheons being often arranged by the Jockey restaurant. The finca at Villasequilla was a bleak spot set in a pine grove but with magnificent views over the Tagus Valley, and there are some vines. In the pavilion that Eduardo built there are good rooms where it is easy to imagine the great lunches after the day's shooting of partridges was over. There were customarily sixteen "guns," all the partridges being wild. The wives of the guns would often come so that sometimes over thirty people would be present at lunch.

From 1964 Eduardo and Dorinda were also regularly invited to the celebra-

tions of July 18, the anniversary of the rising in 1936 at La Granja near Segovia.[16] These were one of the important celebrations of the regime.

Eduardo was not interested in such social activities for their own sake. On the contrary, Eduardo hoped that, as had occurred in 1957 over the test of the military lorry in the Pardo, something useful for the empresa might be gained inadvertently. That calculation was not correct even if Franco continued to be personally impressed by Eduardo. Once the Generalísimo pointed out to his cousin and secretary, General Franco Salgado, that there were businessmen such as Eduardo who had been successful both at home and abroad without the support of INI. Franco thought that, left to his own resources, Eduardo would survive. Franco Salgado, still a shareholder in Barreiros Diesel, if a minor one, could only agree.[17] But they did not realise the constant minor irritations caused by INI and the lack of warmth towards Barreiros Diesel, at least of López Bravo. Had Eduardo received backing from the regime, or rather just noninterference, the history of the Spanish economy would have been different.

Distinguished visitors were still always visiting the fábrica at Villaverde, from Prince Juan Carlos and his new bride, Sofía, to ministers and foreign presidents. When in January 1964 Eduardo senior died in Cologne, his malign tumour defeating even the great doctors there, his funeral in Madrid was attended by five ministers—the Ferrolanos Pedro Nieto Antúnez and Alonso Vega, Ullastres, Cirilo Cánovas, and Jesús Romeo Gorría, ministers respectively of the navy, the interior, commerce, agriculture, and labour.

Also at this remarkable funeral were such dignitaries as the Conde de Casa Loja, head of General Franco's civil household, Pío Cabanillas, who having been legal adviser to Barreiros Diesel was now undersecretary of information with Manuel Fraga, and Andrés Rodríguez Villa, commissioner of supply and transport. All employees of Villaverde were told that they could attend the funeral, and many did, among them Antonio Marquéz, who wrote that he had never seen such a grand funeral, nor, indeed, such a big public meeting since the civil war, for at that time, all reunions of more than ten people were forbidden.[18] Juan Gayá, who was present, thought that there must have been 10,000 people present.[19]

At the funeral, Eduardo and his three brothers stood at the entrance to the magnificent pantheon that he had established for his family in the cemetery of San Isidro opposite the royal palace, in the *pradera* that Goya had made so famous. The funeral was a final statement of recognition of the Barreiros brothers' gratitude to their father for creating the possibility of escaping from the minifundia of Orense.

Paul Berliet, the French car manufacturer, dedicated son of a famous father, visited Villaverde in February 1964, and on arrival he had been impressed by the vast size of the plant, which appeared the bigger because of a lack of certain machine tools.[20] Eduardo had, however, set up a laboratory that enabled him to keep stock of the primary material used in the factories. Berliet naturally thought that the motor plant was the best equipped of the entire congeries of undertakings: producing, as it then did, an impressive range of motors stretching from the small ones used in taxis to those of 180 horsepower used for heavy trucks.[21]

The success of Barreiros Diesel had made it easy for Eduardo and Valeriano to recruit outstanding men as senior staff. We have already met Carranza and the energetic Fernández Baquero, who were directors-general of the departments of finance and production, respectively—the real stars of the industrial firmament.

A decision had recently been made within Barreiros Diesel to have in addition ten directors-general for the different departments, or divisions, within the fábrica. This was Eduardo's idea, though Valeriano and probably Bordegaray would have played a part in organising the details. These leaders of the enterprise were each paid a million pesetas (about $17,000) a year. For those years that was a magnificent salary, and each of the persons concerned were known as "directors of the million."[22] There were ten other directors-general as well as Carranza and Fernández Baquero, of whom the Cantabrian Julián Merino in manufacture had been with Eduardo since 1954. Antoñanzas, the Basque in "national sales," was resilient, while Castaño, the Madrileño son of an ambassador, was every year a more effective international salesman. The ex-municipal secretary and novelist-poet from Pontevedra, Fariña, was an able administrator, while Fernández Quintas, a childhood friend of the Barreiros brothers in Orense, was an imaginative director-general of the department of commercial planning. After his endeavours with Chrysler's lawyers, the able Íñigo Cavero was well established as chief legal adviser, while the Basque Antonio Guisasola was concerned with the general management of the factory. The Sevillano Montes Heredia was in "products," the Madrileño Ynclán, back from Setúbal, was in "assembly," José Antonio Medina Cubillos, also from Madrid, was effective at "post ventas."

These twelve leaders of the enterprise, the "directors-general," came from several parts of Spain: three were born in Madrid (Castaño, Medina, and Ynclán), three came from the Basque country (Antoñanzas, Guisasola, Cavero, though the latter could only be so regarded as a Basque because of a summer accident), two were Cantabrians (Carranza and Merino), two were Gallegos (Fariña and Fernández Quintas), and one each came from León (Fernández Baquero) and Seville (Montes Heredia). Neither Catalonia nor Valencia was represented among these leaders.

The fábrica at the moment when Chrysler began to participate in decisions about its future was in size already over a million square yards and harboured six of the twenty-six companies of Barreiros. But in 1964, with new purchases of land, it came to measure two million square yards.

The citation for Eduardo's medal of honour, as we have seen, spoke of 16,000 Spaniards benefiting from Eduardo's enterprise by receiving work there. The film about the firm, *Barreiros 66*, spoke of "25,538 people working with Eduardo Barreiros,"[23] but the first "collective meeting" of 1970 spoke of only 10,974 workers. The differences are to be explained by the fact that the smaller aggregates exclude all those in "auxiliary industry" working as dealers, or concerned with *post-venta* services, or indeed active in, for example, the tractor division which was soon removed in 1964 to Saragossa (the tractor division moved to some sheds that previously had made some rudimentary trucks called Nazar, about five kilometres down the Saragossa-Madrid road).

There were then in Villaverde still three shifts (*turnos*) for workers, not just two, first in the morning (7 A.M.–3 P.M.), afternoon and evening (3 A.M.–11 P.M.), and night (11 P.M.–7 A.M.).

Estenle Suárez Fernández wrote to the *Boletín de Empresa* in 1967 that the factory was a "university of labour."[24] Much the same comment would be made by Antoñanzas.[25]

In November 1965, Eduardo began arrangements to allow families of workers to visit the sheds of Villaverde every Thursday.[26] This was a much appreciated gesture. It had followed a concession that all dependents, wives and children of workers at Barreiros Diesel, would be looked after medically, free of charge. The company would, too, pay for all medicines and all treatments not covered by the state social security.

There seemed in 1964 to be continuous expansion: "The rhythm that Eduardo imposed on his factory," wrote José Fariña, "was a febrile one and included constant expansion, increase of personnel, increase of commercial undertakings, increase of services. If it was true that it all cost money and needed manpower, it was also the case that the new products would be on the market in six months."[27]

For the Barreiros family, 1964 might be the year of the arrival of the first executives from Chrysler; for Spaniards in general it was the year of a new, somewhat more liberal, political settlement, the "Ley Orgánica del Estado," and for the serious workers in Villaverde, it was the year of the B-36 engine, which led eventually to the thirty-eight-ton truck. "It was also the year," wrote Márquez, "when we greatly increased the stock of autobuses. From a production of one a day we passed to six a day." There were similar increases in the industrial plants dealing

with motors, lorries, and gears. All divisions in Villaverde were making big investments, no less than 4,200 million pesetas in the industrial plants, 1,000 million in the commercial section. A plant of axles for autobuses was built and there was soon also a centre for the study of post-sales needs, both for trucks and automobiles. In 1965, Eduardo established too a school for technical training intended for established workers. It began in the old tractor plant and was moved to the old Galicia Industrial building on kilometre 6 on the road to Andalusia. The instructors were an engineer, three industrial experts, a manager, and forty-five officials able both to instruct about and to study new methods, tractors, electricity, diesels, differentials, and so on.[28]

The sense of well-being in the fábrica was infectious. That was, admittedly, partly a reflection of the increase of the standard of living in Spain itself, that being partly a result of the stabilisation policy, partly a result of increasing tourism (sixteen million tourists visited the country in 1965), partly a consequence of contact with a Europe whose common market of six countries was showing itself a success.[29]

Spain was also becoming an industrialised country, and Eduardo was one of the leading industrialists. Indeed, he was named as the most popular one in 1964 by the secretary general of the Movement, José Solís Ruiz, alongside Ramón Areces and Pepín Fernández, the two Asturianos who were said to be the most distinguished men of commerce, being founders respectively of the extraordinarily successful El Corte Inglés and the department store Galerías Preciados.[30]

The early 1960s were marked by one other change. Spanish workers from poorer regions, such as Galicia or Andalusia, were continually on the move—no longer going to the Americas but to Switzerland, France, Germany, and Britain: the New York–Gallego writer José Iglesias wrote that in those years, "everywhere in Spain people were in movement, going to cities, going to Germany, coming home for the holidays, always with a desperate eagerness, and fear, to try their fortunes, hanging out of trains as they returned home, calling out to friends, searching for their families on the platform."[31] In addition to visitors bringing money into Spain, emigrants were also sending it back.

In these circumstances, surely influenced by the death of his father, surely affected by the illness of his brilliant son, and perhaps affected by uncertainty of what might happen in relation to Chrysler, we see in 1965 a more reflective Eduardo. He even had time to write a long letter to his brothers in which he summarised his life and endeavours: "To date, we have not held a family council. I think it is necessary to hold the first one. . . . In the near future, I plan to write my memoirs. . . . One's brother should always be one's best friend, and I think the same holds true for brothers-in-law. We have always been a close family for a va-

riety of unusual reasons that I will reflect on in these pages. . . . There is no need for me to keep repeating that whatever I have is yours if you need it. . . . All things considered, I can assure you that I am happy, as I have managed, at first by myself and later with Valeriano's help, to raise the family to a high level of life. I would like you to keep in mind the fact that we haven't inherited anything yet!"[32]

The letter ended, "Vale and I gave shares to our other brothers and also to Papá. I was already married but my wife has never reproached me for a moment for my generosity."

We have still, Eduardo went on, "poor first cousins whose poverty I would like to cure by family action. In order that they can marry better, we should give them a dowry of 50,000 pesetas each on their wedding day. . . .

"Valeriano knows what it has cost to reach the level at which we are now. Tears, sweat, and blood. In terms of work done, you can compare me to a man of sixty." At that time, Eduardo was only forty-six.[33]

Eduardo continued, "Valeriano it seems to me a good thing that you take life so calmly, especially as in the old days you seemed very prone to rapid decisions. You Graciliano have also worked differently in other times. And you Celso, are only just beginning."

There were many successes for Barreiros Diesel at this time. Thus in June 1965 Julio Vidal, Eduardo's representative in Cairo, sold 555 forty-four seater buses in Egypt, both Super Azors and Saeta 75s. This, by far the biggest export sale of any Spanish company at that time, brought $8.22 million.[34] The *Revista Barreiros* in these days would often be showing Barreiros's representatives in Chile and Algeria, in Tripoli and in Casablanca. There appeared in it an article entitled "Vehicle for Future Lunar Travelling," leaving the reader in no doubt that Eduardo had still the right machine for any eventuality.

27

The New Gods from the West

In ancient Mexico there was a legend that one day the lost white god Quetzalcoatl would return from the East. He would revive forgotten practices, and carry out a much needed reform of society. Perhaps he would bring justice and wisdom. Some Mexicans believed that Cortés might be the lost deity. In the 1960s, Europeans looked on Americans from the United States in much the same kind of expectant light—though the new gods would come from the West. They brought many things but not always wisdom.

Thus it was that at the end of 1963, less than three months after the signature of the agreement in October, the first American executives from Chrysler arrived in Madrid to take up their places inside the Barreiros Diesel enterprise. There were few of them, they were all men, they seemed eminently Anglo-Saxon in looks, they appeared at first timid. But they had their own ideas. From the beginning, Horacio Pérez Vázquez thought, "there was a lack of understanding by ourselves of the American philosophy of business."[1] Fernández Baquero wisely thought too that "always there was a certain difficulty of understanding between the mentality of a very powerful American company and an entrepreneur who was accustomed to take all his own decisions. From the moment that Eduardo had these partners, they began to put obstacles in his path. And in addition all agreements had to be taken in the collegiate form characteristic of Chrysler."[2] Nevertheless, the Americans professed admiration for what Eduardo and his colleagues had done in the previous years, and surely they were honest.

The new Americans seemed of all kinds. One of the most enlightened of the newcomers, Irving Minett, recalled that Eduardo "presided over the meetings in a very professional manner."[3] One or two of those Spaniards working in the fábrica thought that "just as some of the conquistadors with Columbus were de-

ceived by the Indians, we would continue to be able to deceive the Americans."[4] The leader of the Americans to begin with, however, was Robert Arras, who himself came from Detroit. He lived by Chrysler's book of rules and found it hard to learn how Spaniards worked. He did not seem able to imagine a business in which there were no written rules, only improvisations that had become habits.

Most of Barreiros Diesel's leaders were scornful of the first Chrysler people in Madrid. "They were infantrymen, not officers," Fernández Baquero complained, "and two were drunk much of the time. All the Americans had Chrysler cars in which they would arrive at the fábrica at eleven in the morning."[5] José Fariña was harsher: "They began to hire people with no experience," he wrote in his clever, unpublished novel, *Los invasores*, "their search for good offices was insensitive—indeed, they wanted mostly new, functional offices. They wanted new carpets and mats, even in the corridors. . . . They demanded secretaries who were bilingual in English and Spanish."[6]

They broke with the customs of the factory in other ways. The brilliant historian of the era of General Franco, Luis Suárez Fernández, wrote that Chrysler "seemed inclined to negotiate with the illegal '*sindicatos obreros*' working in Barreiros Diesel rather than with the formally organised vertical syndicates."[7] That was no doubt virtuous but it broke with the carefully contrived way that Eduardo had manipulated his way around Francoist rules by artful paternalism.

The U.S. executives received good salaries, say 500,000 pesetas a month [ten times the average Spanish income, the equivalent of $8,340], and until their own furniture arrived from the United States would lodge with their families in one or other of Madrid's large hotels. Carranza protested, for it meant that the Americans were being paid twice what equivalent Spaniards received. The way in which the Americans were paid seemed a breach of Spanish labour laws. The Americans' cars as well as the education of their children were paid for by Barreiros Diesel. They played golf, and Barreiros Diesel paid their entrance fees and subscriptions at the Club Puerta de Hierro.[8]

Many of the new men seemed to spend much time at parties at the United States embassy. To the hard-working Spaniards at Villaverde, they seemed lazy—an accusation that must read improbably considering the usual attitude of Anglo-Saxons to the habits of work of Spaniards. "Spanish customs!" the English still scornfully exclaim when they hear of people with two jobs! Yet people in Villaverde could give a lesson in habits of work to their new associates from America. The Americans learned the hour for lunch but not a word of Spanish—and seemed to have little interest in doing so. Perhaps that was a faraway echo of the disdain that Anglo-Saxon Americans had traditionally felt for Mexicans as "greasers." Fariña says in his novel that the Americans drank coffee when

they arrived at eleven in the morning, some had a whisky at twelve, and others an aperitif at one o'clock.[9]

Perhaps these impressions are exaggerated. But most of the others who survived from that era such as Fernández Baquero confirm the broad sweep, if not the detail, of his condemnations.

Soon after the conclusion of the agreement between the companies, six new Chrysler auditors arrived in Madrid. Their mission was to confirm in detail all the alleged activities of the company. Their task seemed unnecessary to Eduardo and his colleagues since every detail of Barreiros Diesel's activities had been checked in 1963.[10]

Relations between the new men and the leaders of Barreiros Diesel were further damaged when Eduardo realised that the money contributed by Chrysler had been placed in a closed current account. Much further negotiation was needed to secure access to any of it.

Chrysler's representatives attended their first meeting of the Barreiros board of directors in January 1964. The Spanish directors remained the same: the Barreiros family (Eduardo, Valeriano, Graciliano, Celso, and Ignacio Liniers, the husband of Mary Barreiros); and four men belonging, or close, to the Banco de Vizcaya (Bordegaray, Eulate, Rahn Eilers, and Melchor de las Heras). Alongside these nine Spaniards, Chrysler had six directors: Irving Minett, Russell Longon (soon to resign when he became president of Chrysler Leasing), Warren Williams, director of the Mediterranean for Chrysler, the unyielding Robert Arras, Thomas Habib, and Estanislao Chaves. Of these "new men," Estanislao Chaves was the Americanised Spanish lawyer who had negotiated with Cavero on Chrysler's behalf, while Habib, though not present at the January meeting of directors, seemed to the Spaniards the easiest of the Americans to deal with because, though he could not speak Spanish, he was Lebanese in origin and looked Mediterranean-born. He understood Spanish ways better than his colleagues. Unlike his colleagues, for example, he did not live in a "gracious home" in the outskirts of Madrid, with a garden, swimming pool, and overpaid servants, but in an apartment in the centre of the capital. Fernández Baquero thought that Habib was far the best man sent by Chrysler to Madrid. Justo García de Vicuña went further: he thought him extremely humane, subtle and with exquisite tact.[11]

Irving Minett, too, had many positive qualities and would be praised personally by Eduardo, whom he came to know well. He had been with Chrysler since 1934, and as well as being a director in Villaverde, he was vice president of the corporation for all operations outside the United States. He had been director of

Chrysler's all-important tank division during the war. He did not live in Madrid in these years but instead visited it every month or so.[12]

It would also be impossible to forget Estanislao Chaves, even if he seemed at the service of his U.S. masters and who lived like an American since he had a wife from New York. Eduardo disliked him,[13] but he was an efficient lawyer who often served as a good interpreter between the two groups of directors—something that was entirely necessary. Eduardo's chief interpreter, Corredoira from Corunna, was inadequate.

Robert Arras, who had considerable power in 1964–65, however, seemed to the men of Barreiros specially disagreeable: he was "very tall and blond, fat and flabby, with sea-green eyes who, in addition to the café and the aperitifs which he liked, had the drawers of his desk full of packets of biscuits and chocolate bars which he ate all morning. He was, therefore, known in the empresa as 'the biscuit man.'"[14]

On the face of things, relations for many months between Barreiros Diesel and Chrysler seemed calm. Yet Chrysler seemed from the beginning to make continuous efforts to expand their authority. Thus, in June 1964, the latter undertook to buy another 5 percent of the shares of the company for $2 million, which gave them 45 percent of the shares in the company as opposed to the Barreiros family's 51 percent.

In 1964 the minister Solís brought in a law of "co-gestion," which affected the board of Barreiros Diesel as of every other large company. Henceforward on the board there would be two members representing the employees.[15]

The first meeting of the combined board also seemed to suggest an agenda of argument. For example, Eduardo spoke enthusiastically of his new, light Saeta, a truck of 4.5 tons. But Warren Williams insisted on the superior virtues of Chrysler's Dodge lorry of much the same size and weight. Then, in the new circumstances suggesting growing Chrysler control, Hanomag decided that they wanted to sell out altogether from Hanomag-Barreiros (even though they were then making twenty-five tractors a day), and Eduardo announced to the board that he and his brothers were going to buy their 25 percent holding.

Then Eduardo wanted to continue to use all his old distributors for sales in Spain. But Warren Williams of Chrysler, again, spoke of the virtues of SEIDA (Sociedad Española de Importación de Automóviles S.A.), a company that Chrysler thought that they had a moral obligation to maintain since they had used them for thirty years and more.

The process of concentration of the smaller dependent companies associated with Barreiros Diesel continued, on Chrysler's insistence. Thus Hanomag was

absorbed and the excellent name, recalling several generations of valuable endeavour in Hanover, disappeared from the tractors that they and Barreiros Diesel made. In December 1964, Eduardo bought the shares of David Brown in David Brown Engineering, and it became known that he also was seeking to buy the shares that the English AEC had in its joint company with Barreiros Diesel, as well as the investments of Tempo Onieva in Hanomag-Barreiros. CEESA too was sold. All the subsidiary partners realised that the coming of Chrysler signified a sea change for them.

The board of directors set up a commission of five men who, Chrysler thought, would eventually run the firm. To begin with, this would consist of Eduardo, with his brothers Valeriano and Graciliano, and Habib and Arras on the other side. No serious decision would be valid unless it had the backing not only of a majority of the group but at least one member from each section. The arrangement was a recipe for inaction and the committee was practically never used: a bad omen for the future.

In late 1964 and 1965, there were frequent visits of executives of Chrysler from the United States to Villaverde, and there were also visits of directors and technicians of Barreiros Diesel to Detroit. Antonio Guisasola, for example, spent many months in the latter city. For these Spanish visitors, this journey was often their first sight of a brave new world that continued to have its fascination. They would come back with contradictory impressions: first, most were possessed by a sense of awe at the great size of the installations of Chrysler in Detroit that gave work to 60,000 people; second, the beauty as well as the size of the skyscrapers and cars (especially the Chrysler V8s controlled by push-buttons); third, the style of the offices of the senior managers with their glamorous American secretaries, Dictaphones, and closed-circuit televisions. But they would also return unfavourably impressed by many things: first, they noted the truly appalling quality of the meals in the United States in comparison with those in Spain, and indeed of the "American way of life"; second, they could not avoid noticing that the men working on the conveyor belts in factories, without air conditioning, were usually black while their superiors were usually white.

In 1964 Eduardo and his family for the first time summered in the famous Gran Hotel in La Toja, a brilliant white building on an enchanted island just off El Grove facing the Ría de Arosa in the Rías Bajas. There he and his family swam, dined, and lunched well off exquisite fish, and Eduardo remained for more weeks than ever before away from Villaverde. It was a time for reflection for him. He still believed that the difficulties between Barreiros Diesel and Chrysler, if there were any, would be overcome in time. But just a year after his

signature of the agreement with the Americans some doubts seemed to be growing in his mind about what he had done.

At the end of that year, relations between Chrysler and the old leaders of Barreiros Diesel were worsening. One excellent economist, Valeriano Muñoz, began discussions with the Americans about the respective merits of the methods of the Americans and the Spaniards in the "workplace." He suggested intelligent ways of collaboration and of the need to adapt the organisation of the fábrica to reflect the customs of the two undertakings. But the Americans insisted on circulating a "manual of organisation" that in both English and Spanish seemed unreadable. How could Chrysler expect to conquer markets if the managers favoured a level of bureaucracy that most government departments would have found unacceptable?[16]

Yet there were welcome innovations in Villaverde; for example, some deriving from the Simca and Dodge manufacturing plants, these being constructed in three sections: coach building, painting, and assembly. To build these new manufacturing places, Eduardo had the financial support of the Chase Manhattan Bank, the bank of Chrysler.[17]

Everyone welcomed the establishment of the new plants. But there were interminable delays in the construction of the Dodge. Chrysler in the summer of 1963 had promised to Eduardo that it would be making a Dodge within a year of their agreemeent.[18] Four thousand new workers were recruited to make this possible.[19] But then a year passed without anything being forthcoming. Carranza and Fernández Baquero wrote a joint letter of complaint to Eduardo. They even raised questions of good faith.

All that happened was that the money that Chrysler had brought in was at last handed over to the company in January 1965—that is, fifteen months after the conclusion of the agreement between Barreiros Diesel and Chrysler. In compensation or in gratitude, Chrysler was allotted an extra, seventh, director on the board. Each director-general was also allocated an American adviser. Most of the Spaniards remember these advisers as doing little more than pestering their bosses, but there were exceptions: Fernández Quintas, for example, had a happy memory of his own adviser, Jack Charipar, a Baptist, whom he considered a good man if without adequate industrial experience.

In December 1964, fourteen months after the conclusion of the agreements with Chrysler, Eduardo asked Fernández Baquero: "When are we going to have the Dodge?" Fernández Baquero replied, "Never!" He added, "These people are only here to enjoy themselves. Two of them are only here to drink."[20] Eduardo

was shocked and asked Fernández Baquero to write a report on how he considered the men from Chrysler to be doing. He did so. Eduardo gave this document to Habib, who had just succeeded the unpopular Arras after the latter's return to Detroit. The result was explosive. For, next day, Habib merged the so-called Chrysler division with the production department headed precisely by Fernández Baquero. The next day Eduardo again asked: "How long do we need to make the Dodge?"[21]

The former spent two hours in his office with a calculator. He also studied a Dodge Dart that he himself had bought recently at the fair of Seville. He returned to tell Eduardo: "We need six months." Eduardo promptly told the minister of industry, López Bravo: "Gregorio, in June you can have the 120 Dodge cars for the ministers if we are allowed the 50 percent." He meant 50 percent made in Spain, 50 percent in the United States, though the government's rules formally still specified 75 percent Spain, 25 percent the United States.

Fernández Baquero flew to Detroit with three colleagues to buy 1,200 Dodge Darts "in pieces," with the exception of the pieces of Spanish make, which were important to establish in order to be defined as 50 percent "national production." He worked for twenty-four hours in Detroit and, after signing an order for the components, returned with the parts for what was to be made in Spain.

"It was not easy," he admitted, "to fit in many of the Spanish-made parts, especially because the small industry in this regard was controlled by SEAT and Renault. A Catalan manufacturer of mouldings refused to deal with us, because we threatened the monopoly of SEAT!"[22] But the people in the "supply" section of Barreiros worked at full intensity, improving the quality of the American model by 100 percent. The seats were made for Barreiros-Radcliffe on a design of Bertrand Faure.

This experience was highly satisfactory to Fernández Baquero and, we may suppose, to Eduardo, since though he did not share the doubts that Fernández Baquero now had about the entire collaboration with Chrysler, he was naturally proud of his Spanish undertakings.

Many of these differences between Barreiros and Chrysler were probably inevitable, given the contrasting ways of life and work of Spain and the United States. But they would surely have been overcome in time had there been two things: first, a real will on both sides to achieve a compromise. But though Eduardo was willing, there were many who worked with him who were incapable of such a thing, and the same was true of the United States representatives.

Second, the difficulties would probably have vanished had there been a triumph in sales of the products of the reinforced Barreiros Diesel. But, alas, that

was not to be. Neither the Simca nor the Dodge Dart established itself easily in the Spanish market.

First, the Simca. This car was assembled in two forms—the 1000 with 52 horsepower and the 1000 GT also of 52 horsepower—in a new plant in Villaverde, completed in November 1965.[23] The essential items came from Chrysler France, at Poissy. Barreiros Diesel found it hard to sell the car because of the competitiveness of, for example, the Renault R-8, which by then had a good name in Spain. The smaller Seat 600 and 850 also constituted strong rivals—particularly the first. So in 1966, only 32,000 Simcas were sold instead of the expected 50,000. That was not the failure of Antoñanzas, then in charge of sales, and who did more than could have been expected, even if some criticism was levied against him from the Chrysler wing of the company. Eduardo then announced in January 1965 that 68,000 Simcas would be made in 1966.

The main consequence of the Simca 1000 was that before 1966, people had to wait almost a year to receive a vehicle of this size after asking for it. After 1966 the car was delivered almost immediately, but that revolution did not seem to assist Barreiros Diesel's sales, which remained far below what had been expected.

Then there was the Dodge, in which more emotion as well as more money had been invested, for this was intended to be the new star of the business. Eduardo summoned a meeting of the directors-general to discuss the likely sales. Present were Carranza and Fernández Baquero, Fariña and Merino, Ynclán and Antoñanzas, Fernández Quintas and Castaño, as well as Guisasola and Cavero. Habib also attended, being now responsible for "special affairs," a good name for allowing him to interfere with everything. Carlos Otero Insua, soon to be subdirector-general of national sales, who was also present, said that he had been thinking in terms of being able to dispose of 2,000 to 5,000 cars per year. Eduardo was furious. He had expected sales of 15,000 a year. At a meeting to discuss the matter, Carranza supposedly said, "I shall sell 5,000 just to my friends."[24] Then Carlos Otero returned to his office and came back with the statement that perhaps Eduardo's figure might be closer to reality. "That's indeed another matter," was Eduardo's optimistic reply. At another meeting of directors-general, it was agreed to name that figure, 15,000, as the goal. That was Eduardo's responsibility. All accepted it since in the past everything that Eduardo touched usually turned to gold.

Fernández Baquero left again for Detroit. He went to buy the parts of the bodywork of the 15,000 vehicles. Chrysler had these available since the Dodge Dart had entered a period of bad sales in the United States. Indeed, if it had not been able to sell these plates to Barreiros, they would have been thrown away as scrap.

Surprisingly, Chrysler wanted to be paid for all these parts: there was no charity about their relations with Barreiros Diesel. Fernández Baquero wrote, "We knew that these sheets could be conserved even in humid conditions if they were protected by anti-rust spray." They were all sent to Madrid. But here Chrysler played what Fernández Baquero called "a new dirty trick" and held up the delivery for several months, obliging Eduardo to assume a new debt with them.[25]

Despite all these irritations, Eduardo announced to the press in January 1965 that the assembly of the Dodge would begin in June. He took the opportunity to insist that he was ("of course") on excellent terms with his colleagues in Chrysler. He also said that, instead of a mere 15,000 cars, 21,000 Dodges would be manufactured in 1966. He later increased that figure for 1966 to 24,000—and added that the figure for 1967 would be 30,000. He added that he hoped that, shortly, everyone who worked in Villaverde would be able to buy a car at a reduced cost.[26]

Publicity soon began for the Dodge: in March 1965 the *Revista Barreiros* showed the beautiful actress Sara Montiel in a white fur coat at the wheel of one of those cars, while, in November the same year, the journal *Motor Mundial* had a Dodge Dart on its cover.

Production of the great hope of the factory began: López Bravo was present at the inaugural ceremony in July 1965. Two models would be made: the Standard, costing 240,000 pesetas, and the Gran Lujo, to be sold at 260,000. The United States would at first be responsible for all the parts. After 1966, though, Spain would make everything except for the carburettors and the panels of the bodywork.[27] The Americans were apparently astonished at the speed with which Barreiros Diesel worked.[28] The Americans' surprise itself affected morale at Villaverde. It was one reason why in these months many intelligent workers left their jobs in other firms and accepted work with Barreiros.

Sales began in advance, in September 1965. But alas, they had totalled only 742 before the end of the year (a little over 500 were also sold or given away in Madrid—one to General Franco and sixty others to the government). Ministers started to use them instead of the Cadillacs that they had hitherto favoured. But early sales were much smaller than what Eduardo and Fernández Baquero had expected. It began to dawn on the sales representatives that the Spaniards looked on the Dodge as a luxury car for which the country was not ready. It was certainly a beautiful and well-made vehicle but it was expensive: the price of 250,000 pesetas or so made it far more costly than the Seat 1500, which sold at only a little more than half that (138,260 pesetas). How could the combined brains of Eduardo and his helpers, as well as Chrysler and its executives, have made such a mistake? Thousands of Dodge cars remained unsold.

So it was not surprising that at the end of 1965, the overall finances of Barreiros Diesel began to seem once again troubling. The empresa had made a large investment of 4,500 million pesetas to build the new automobiles, the Simca and the Dodge. It had also made loans of 1,200 million pesetas to create new service stations.[29] The money sent originally by Chrysler had by then all been spent or absorbed, the banks were as always reticent, while the Banco de Vizcaya seemed at last to have exhausted its capacity for enthusiasm for Eduardo and his work.

The new year 1966 was supposed to have been the year of decision for the Dodge and, therefore, for Barreiros Diesel. It began grandiosely. On January 8, a cold and overcast day, General Franco, in a grey, double-breasted overcoat, visited the new Dodge factory at Villaverde. As minister for industry, López Bravo came too. There were also present half the cabinet—the ministers of commerce, justice, the army, the navy, the treasury, the interior, public works, education, air, labour, agriculture, and housing, not to speak of the ambassadors of the United States and France, as well as Cabanillas, now Fraga's subsecretary of tourism.

Antonio Márquez Paz described how before General Franco arrived, the police carefully examined all those who would be in the place when he came. They did their work, he thought, discreetly, elegantly, and efficiently.[30] Jiménez Parra, an assistant to the head of personnel of the fábrica, said he noticed that on each floor, three or four people known to be out of sympathy with the regime disappeared for two or three days and then returned as if nothing had happened.[31] The road to the factory had been lined with police since 6 A.M.

The masters of Spain first inspected the conveyor belt which made the Simca. They were then taken around the fábrica by car. Eduardo himself drove General Franco in a Dodge specially prepared with a transparent bullet-proof roof. The procession through the factory was of no less than 110 Dodge cars, passing the divisions of gear boxes, trucks, tractors, Dodge and Simca cars, presses, foundry, and so on.

Franco signed the golden book of honour, writing, "With my admiration for the marvellous work of Barreiros. F. Franco." Later, he told Franco Salgado: "The great work undertaken by Eduardo Barreiros made a great impression on me." He added, "What I cannot quite understand is how it is that he found the money to set up an industrial plant of such a size."[32]

The leading Americans were present at this celebration, including the chairman of Chrysler, Townsend, Minett, and some other high executives of the company: they gave press conferences and went to a shoot, they went to banquets, and they went out at night. It was rumoured that Townsend had conversations with Eduardo about the future of the company but no one knew whether that was so.[33]

The same day as Franco's visit, there was a meeting of the board. Minett congratulated Eduardo on the success of the occasion. Eduardo thanked Bordegaray, who from the beginning always had believed in the success of the company.

Valeriano talked of "the forward march of the company" as usual, Eduardo informed of his absorption of the subsidiary companies, and there was an ample discussion of sales by instalments. Eduardo said that he wanted to buy Fabricaciones Industriales of Zaragoza, and concentrate in that city all the work on tractors that had used to be carried out in the Hanomag section of the great fábrica.

Afterwards, Townsend offered Eduardo a dinner in the famous Jockey restaurant.[34] The next day, Eduardo held a shoot in the *coto de* Seseña, near Aranjuez, at which General Franco was present, as well as López Bravo. There were the Marqueses de Villaverde and the inevitable "Pepe" Sanchis Sancho, still with his 5 percent of Barreiros shares. Several of the leading Chrysler grandees were there, including Minett and Love, as well as "Bill" Whiteford of Gulf Oil and his Spanish representative, Fitzpatrick. Townsend, who came with his son, was a poor shot, though he began the day at Franco's side. But having been covered by pellets, the generalísimo insisted that Townsend change places with Fitzpatrick, whom General Franco admired.[35]

The following day, January 10, there was another shoot, this time at the *coto de* Palomeque, a finca a little farther to the west but also in the province of Toledo, and once again General Franco attended. The dinner that night was in Eduardo's house, now in the Castellana, and afterwards there was a flamenco. Among those present was the famous *torero*, Luis Miguel Dominguín, and that magnificent sculptor of many noble heads in the Valle de los Caídos, Juan de Ávalos.[36] The Villaverdes were there, as was the astute claimant to the throne of Bulgaria, Simeon de Saxe-Coburg, with his wife, Margarita Gómez Acebo,[37] the actress Sara Montiel, who had been driving the Dodge a few weeks earlier, and even López Bravo, whom *Hola* showed in a feature talking to George Love, the chairman of Chrysler. The popular singer Lola Flores sang "La Zarzamora," and Rocío Jurado also sang, while Eduardo's daughter Mariluz, then aged thirteen, danced a flamenco.[38] Suanzes wrote sourly of the celebrations,[39] but surely Spanish-American relations were in good shape.

28

Disagreement with the Americans

I am in no way in agreement with what the Americans are doing.

—Eduardo to Enrique Feijóo, 1967

The visit of General Franco to Villaverde set the seal on an epoch in Eduardo's life. He seemed to have reached the summit of a mountain from which he could see several continents: the past of autarchy, the brilliant present of free enterprise, and a glittering future of international exports. Eduardo seemed confirmed as the favourite industrialist of the government, a man at ease with the ministers and generals who surrounded the head of state and a close friend of the head of state's daughter and son-in-law, Carmen and Cristóbal, Marqués de Villaverde. Several courtiers of General Franco—Pacón (General Franco Salgado), Admiral Nieto Antúnez, and the tall, sonorous-voiced "Tío Pepe" from Valencia (José María Sanchis Sancho), as well as Fuertes de Villavicencio, the deputy head of the civil household—remained shareholders in Barreiros Diesel.

Eduardo and Dorinda Barreiros continued to hold great dinners in their house in Castellana 68. Their daughter, Mariluz, remarked: "The social life of my parents in those years was intense, they would have many engagements, many dinners, a large number of journeys, for business reasons, in northern Europe and the United States. I remember so well the dressing room of my mother, full of wonderful dresses, with her shoes *a juego*, hats, very elegant overcoats, almost all from Balenciaga or Valentino (although she was always very thrifty and a good organiser)."[1]

Cavero, however, commented: "For Eduardo, social life had no real interest but, if he went through with it, it was because he knew, in an age of state interventionism, that it was necessary to get permission to produce anything, and the

administration looked on the private automobile section of the economy with much suspicion. Even to arrange an agreement of technical assistance was extraordinarily complicated."[2]

All the same, the beautiful American, Aline, Condesa de Romanones, thought that Eduardo became a focus of social attention because people were interested in meeting someone who had made so much money having started from having so little. His example showed that you too, if you were determined, could change your life.[3]

But despite his friendships, Eduardo was engaged in a dangerous game in which General Franco and his circle, though they seemed to like him, did not help him, and in which the minister of industry (López Bravo), often thought so enlightened, seemed indifferent. This game was, of course, the contest with Chrysler Corporation.

At the beginning of 1966, Eduardo was still uttering sweet words about his American partners, at least in public. Thus José Antonio Revilla, on January 27, 1966, a few weeks after General Franco's visit to Villaverde, asked him in an interview on television, "Does not your association with Chrysler make you a little fearful? Are you not afraid that in a short time Chrysler will use you in order to establish its entry into Spain?"

Eduardo replied: "The idea of Chrysler is not only for Spain but for other parts of the world to go in with its technical superiority, to arrange to introduce its products but never with the idea of securing a monopoly. As far as we are concerned, Chrysler is giving us a tremendous help. Everything we ask for, they make available."[4] But that reflected only the public Eduardo. In private, he was already disillusioned.

There were, certainly, still a few hiccups in relation to the Dodge: for example, in March 1966, Fernández Baquero wrote, production of the Dodge was halted because many pieces of bodywork were still waiting in the customs house. Fernández Baquero was determined to extract these without waiting for the bill from Chrysler. To that end, with great imagination he invited to dine several officials of the customs as well as Domingo Saavedra, the ex-mayor of Orense who had joined Barreiros Diesel in 1958 and was in 1966 responsible in the company for international trade. These officials' wives were also invited—an unusual gesture in Madrid of that time.

During the dinner, Saavedra bluntly raised the question of the lack of the parts imported from America. The consequence was that, next day at 8 A.M., Barreiros Diesel was given permission to take its cargo out of the customs house. Halfway through the morning, the papers giving permission appeared. The production of

the Dodge began again.[5] This was one of the very few occasions when the regime assisted Eduardo. Once again a dinner was shown to have many uses.

Eduardo was also in these months busy with alternative activities. He seemed to be encouraging his investment company, CIPSA (Compañía Ibérica de Prospecciones S.A.), to interest itself in oil in Fernando Poo, in collaboration with Mobil Oil and CEPSA (Compañía Española de Petróleos S.A.), an old enemy but one that he now saw as a friend.

Then he was planning some activities in Orense. Juan Miguel Antoñanzas thought that Eduardo knew already in 1965 that his association with Chrysler might end in disaster, especially if he did not pay off the debts occasioned by the expansion of recent years ("one had to swim and look after one's clothes" was one of his favourite comments). So he also established "Eduardo Barreiros Orense S.A.," financed by the Caja de Ahorros de Orense, at the head of which there was still his old friend "Caito" (Ricardo Martín Esperanza). The hope was to establish seven factories to be concerned with the supply of parts for automotion. They would produce electrical equipment, injection pumps, and gear boxes. Eduardo was seeking to concentrate in Orense all the minor works that he had embarked upon but which he feared Chrysler might absorb.

He offered the job of director-general of these undertakings in Galicia to Fernández Baquero, who had become exasperated by Chrysler. In his stead as director-general of production, there would be Horacio Pérez Vázquez, by now a most experienced manager as well as a scientist. He, Fernández Baquero, and Graciliano spent much of the summer of 1965 trying to establish this range of auxiliary industries. All these undertakings would develop independently of Chrysler.

The press in Orense soon got wind of these ideas. Technicians from Barreiros had visited the Polígono de San Ciprián de Viñas in Orense (the industrial suburb that Eduardo had helped to finance), and the local paper, *La Región*, had announced that the principal question which Orensanos were putting was, "Is Barreiros coming to Orense? We believe that our reply is categorically 'yes.'"[6]

In March 1966, the Barreiros family went for Semana Santa in Málaga in Eduardo's Beechcraft aeroplane, and Carranza and Fernández Baquero accompanied them. Saying good-bye to the latter in the airport at Málaga, Eduardo said: "Santiago, on our return you must begin to work with Barreiros in Orense and we shall ask Pérez Vázquez to succeed you."

On their return, Fernández Baquero accepted the invitation.[7]

The day of the meeting of the shareholders, Eduardo said to Fernández Baquero: "We are going to tell them [the shareholders] that Galicia Industrial will

definitely be the future for our clients." Then Eduardo asked him, "What shall we tell Chrysler about Barreiros Orense?"

A few hours later, at about nine in the evening, after shareholders had met, Eduardo summoned Fernández Baquero to his office. "Eduardo was sitting with his feet on a chair [a most unusual position for him], his head back, as he often sat in difficult moments, and he said with sadness:

"They have done us in!" (*¡Nos han jodido!*)

"What's happened?"

"They want to take over everything." Fernández Baquero later explained: "Chrysler wants also to control the companies in Orense." Chrysler indeed wanted to participate in all the plans for Galicia, and to dismantle much of the Barreiros group, selling the dependent companies in order to "increase liquidity" and concentrate on companies that sold saloon cars.

Actually for months nothing changed, the new "assistants" at the side of the directors-general made little impression, Fernández Baquero remained, there were innumerable discussions as to whether perhaps the old system might not all the same have something to be said for it. But the "Chryslerisation" of Barreiros slowly continued, with "new colours and sketches, new emblems and new materials, new pictures and fábricas, even new work clothes, like those in all Chrysler plants all over the world."[8]

The irony is that the old products of old Barreiros Diesel were selling spectacularly well in 1966. In May, Eduardo gave a press conference in which he described how, in the previous twelve months, they had doubled their manufacture of industrial vehicles—mainly trucks—and were making 6,000 of them a year of all weights, from five to thirty-eight tons, and how they were exporting to thirty countries. No Spanish manufacturer had ever done that before.

Eduardo also explained that he had talked with the directors of SAVA, the motor manufacturers of Valladolid, to buy the shares of that company and, though the negotiations had reached a "good conclusion, at the last moment a series of problems had arisen which torpedoed this arrangement the responsibility for which had been Pegaso [i.e., ENASA]."

Eduardo had thought that the concentration of SAVA and Barreiros in a single hand—his hand, naturally—would have made Spain the first manufacturer of industrial vehicles in all Europe—especially if he could ally with ENASA too.[9]

The story of Eduardo's adventure with SAVA deserves special attention. The Sava Company of Valladolid (Sociedad Anónima de Vehículos Automóviles) had been established in October 1957 with a capital of 24 million pesetas. Most of the shares were in the hands of Francesco Scrimieri Margotti or his family. He had been born in Lecce, had lived in Taranto, and then went to Turin. In 1937, aged

twenty-four, he had gone to Valladolid as a technician of FIAT. He married a girl from Bilbao, and remained in Spain thereafter. In 1942, he founded a small aluminium factory FADA (Fábrica de Artículos de Aluminio) to make various articles for the kitchen but also industrial pieces such as reels of aluminium for the silk trade. Scrimieri became a prominent figure in the economic life of Valladolid and acted as Italian honorary consul in that city.

Always interested in motors, he wanted to make a three-wheeler. His son Cosme described the three-wheeler as "the child of FADA." He founded SAVA (Sociedad Anónima de Vehículos de Automoción) 1957 for that purpose. He applied to the Ministry of Industry for permission to make 1,000 vehicles a year, using the EB-4 of Barreiros Diesel of 3,200 cubic centimeters as a motor. But the minister of industry refused him. Then, in the summer of 1957, he gained approval for a *motocarro* (three-wheeler) that was capable of being driven from Zaragoza to Valladolid at an average of fifty kilometres an hour with a load of 1,500 kilogrammes. Scrimieri tried to propagate a four-wheeler of the same kind.

On February 16, 1959, the ministry approved SAVA's manufacture of 500 three-wheelers and also 1,000 four-wheel trucks that had an EB-4 diesel motor from Barreiros. It was an immediate success.[10] They also began to make vans, as well as tractors, under the licence of the British Motor Corporation and in 1964 some heavy trucks under the licence of the French firm of Berliet—the former holding 3.6 percent of the shares and the latter 7.7 percent. By 1966 there were about 1,650 men working at the SAVA factory in Valladolid.[11]

Eduardo and Scrimieri, meantime, became friends. The former sold motors to the latter, who in turn made pistons for Eduardo. Eduardo was developing a vision of just one large Spanish enterprise making saloon cars and lorries that would eventually dominate the European market. After some weeks of discussion, beginning at the end of April 1966, Scrimieri, still the managing director of SAVA, agreed to sell. SAVA was short of money and the situation therefore was causing difficulties for Scrimieri. A loan of 90 million pesetas agreed by the Banco de Crédito Industrial never arrived.[12] Íñigo Cavero, the legal adviser to Eduardo, sent an ultimatum: "Friday or out." It was decided that Eduardo would go to a meeting on May 27, 1966, in Villaverde in which the arrangements would be concluded. But on May 26, the day before the meeting, "on hearing of SAVA's contacts with Barreiros [Diesel]" the directors of Finanzauto, a bank in the control of the Ministry of Industry that was responsible for the distribution of the products of SAVA as well as the Pegaso trucks, called on Scrimieri and suggested that SAVA ought to put itself in touch with the directors of ENASA. Scrimieri was summoned in the morning of May 27 by the same men from Finanzauto.

A meeting began at 11 A.M. and went on in ENASA's headquarters in the Calle

Lagasca until the early hours of the next day. Present were representatives of ENASA and Finanzauto. A contract was signed. It seemed always to the Scrimieri family that López Bravo, the minister of industry, had intervened to arrange that the shares that SAVA had proposed to sell to Eduardo should be bought by ENASA. Meantime, Eduardo waited at Villaverde with his lawyers, but Scrimieri never appeared.

This was one of the more high-handed procedures of the ministry: rude as well as intemperate. Scrimieri and Eduardo never met again. The whole incident was a reminder to Eduardo that he still had bitter enemies within the regime as well as new ones from across the ocean.[13]

One conversation of this time deserves to be recalled. This was Eduardo's talk with Enrique Feijóo, the clever Orensano who had helped so much to promote Barreiros Diesel in the 1950s, and who had resigned to work with Nestlé, Mexico, as director of publicity. Feijóo visited Eduardo, who said to him, "Come and work with us again." But Feijóo knew from talking with people in Chrysler-Mexico that Chrysler was "acquisitive" and he asked Eduardo, "How long will you be president of Barrieros Diesel?" Eduardo replied, "I don't know but I am in no way in agreement with what the Americans are doing."[14]

What he specifically meant was the slow "Americanisation" of his great Spanish fábrica. But there were other conflicts: first, Chrysler turned out to be uninterested in the manufacture of trucks in Europe except for their own Dodge "small trucks." They did not even seem to mind that in France FIAT should control the industrial division of SIMCA. It is true that SIMCA had had an old association with FIAT, but this was a new development. All the achievements of Eduardo and Barreiros Diesel, from the moment of the *abuelo*'s victory in Portugal, were forgotten.

Then there was the question of the dependent companies, the so-called *filiales*. Eduardo was more interested in the Latin American export market than that in Europe and Africa (except Egypt). But in Latin America, Barreiros Diesel's plans clashed with Chrysler's established interests. Instead of receiving the support of Chrysler for his exports, he found himself in competition with it. For example, Eduardo wanted to start making tractors in Mexico. But Minett, one of the more serene of the Chrysler men in Europe, pointed out that such an activity would compete with AUTO-MEX, a firm that also made tractors and in which Chrysler had invested.

Then Eduardo had been accustomed to use Colombiana de Automoción S.A. for his exports in Colombia, but Chrysler had at its disposal another firm there, Colombiana de Motores S.A., and there was, therefore, again talk not of collaboration but of competition.

Finally, there was also argument as to the best way to finance projects. Eduardo had established EFISA (Entidad de Financiación S.A.) in 1963, before his understanding with Chrysler, to finance the sale of vehicles by instalments. But Chrysler thought it inadequate and wanted to form a new finance company. So it created COFIC (Compañía Internacional de Financiación y Crédito) with a capital of 100 million pesetas.[15] In its first year, that amount permitted the formation of twenty-six sales agencies. The relative success of this body did not endear it to Eduardo, who saw it as ruining his own old empire.

Then the financial problems of Barreiros Diesel, soothed after the arrival of Chrysler's money, revived. The failure to sell the Simca and the Dodge in the expected numbers had inspired a real crisis. In July 1966, Eduardo himself put it thus: "The sales began to decline so quickly that, within two months, the company ran out of cash and had to resort to an . . . urgent loan, followed immediately by a capital increase of two billion [pesetas], made possible by a one-billion [peseta] loan extended to the Barreiros family by the Banco de Crédito Industrial. . . . Our family's faith in the company, both now and for the future, was so great that we never once hesitated to put all we had behind it."[16]

Eduardo was at his best in this crisis. Thus he established a centre to give courses related to the sale of vehicles. A manual "de organización comercial de ventas de automóviles" was inspired by Carlos Otero Insua, the new director of sales. It demanded salesmen with good human qualities.[17] Eduardo wrote to the existing "salesmen" to persuade them to participate in the course that he had arranged. But salespeople are often eccentric if original individuals. They rejected the idea that they could benefit from courses on subjects which they considered that they knew well.[18]

The fábrica's public activities, however, all the same seemed to continue to shine with energy that year: thus there was not only a bullfight with the toreros coming from the factory, there was a pilgrimage of workers and their wives to Santiago de Compostela—the procession headed of course by Eduardo and Dorinda. There was too an exhibition where forty-two workers at Villaverde showed 206 paintings. Three Barreiros Prizes, worth half a million pesetas each, were offered for journalism, art, and literature. In November a specific Barreiros Prize for poetry was founded. The second prize was won by Joaquín Marcos Fernández, who had written an ambitious industrial poem "La Industriada," "an epic poem in five cantos."[19] The author was asked, "How do you see the present time in Spanish poetry?" "Very feeble," was his reply.[20]

In June 1966, King Faisal of Saudi Arabia made a visit to Villaverde during a state expedition to Spain, saying that he was delighted to know that the company was collaborating with the development of his kingdom; and in November, a re-

port came that Eduardo's Panter III had enjoyed the best results in a competition for the Saudi armed forces (defeating Berliet of France and General Motors of the United States). The test had included a drive of a hundred and fifty miles across the desert.[21]

King Faisal's declaration at Villaverde in the golden book of visitors deserves to be remembered: "In the name of all mighty God: It is a pleasure for me to express the admiration that I have for everything that I have seen in this factory. . . . It is a pleasure to know that this entity is ready to cooperate with Saudi Arabia in its industrial development. I thank the president of the factory for his reception, his welcome and his generosity. God guide the entity in the continuation of its good work."[22]

After the summer, in September 1966, two matters seemed to dominate Barreiros Diesel: the decline of demand, as much of the new products as of the old ones, with the consequent increase of stocks, and materials stored in the warehouses; second, the realisation that the factory in Villaverde had an excessive number of employees. A general drive for economy was embarked upon, from the provision of pens to carbon paper. Those who were most affected were those who had joined most recently and who had abandoned good jobs to do so and were now disillusioned. This began a gradual deterioration of the good name of the company with the general public.

There were also some disputes and quarrels. Carranza went to see Fernández Baquero, who said that there was no reason to despair, but that the increase in the capital in the "amounts required for it to be truly effective would mean the Chairman would lose his majority shareholding, which would give [Chrysler] control of company governance and management."[23] And even if only for the sake of patriotism, that had to be avoided at all costs.

Eduardo was trying now to arrange with the Banco de Crédito a loan that would enable him to achieve the capital needed, without losing his majority of shares (to Chrysler). But he did not achieve that. After a long conversation between Habib and the chairman (Eduardo), the company (Chrysler) agreed to act as surety, without requiring any compensation in return.

While the relations between the two wings of Barreiros Diesel simmered, a surprising development occurred: syndical elections of a relatively open nature. The *Boletín de la Empresa* published the names of, and short interviews with, the candidates in Barreiros Diesel. A typical exchange was thus (this was with a certain Sabino Arranz Aparicio):

"Why did you not present yourself on other occasions?"

"Really I never thought of it and I didn't on this occasion myself, it is the fault of my companions."

"Well then aren't you making propaganda?"

"As a matter of fact, no. If the people consider that I am worth something, let them vote for me."

"And if you are elected what will you do?"

"Everything I can for my comrades, in the frame of justice and without damaging the business, and to avoid any possible obstruction between the management and the workers."[24] (He did not win.)[25]

But such elections did not indicate any serious change in the nature of the regime, and nor did the elections affect Barreiros Diesel, where in November for the first time the news that all was not well in the company made headlines: for, on the fifth of that month, the public read in their newspapers the headline "Barreiros is going through a serious crisis." The Simca 1000 had sold only modestly, and 1,000 workers had been dismissed, most of them being heads of families. They had been earning between 6,000 and 7,000 pesetas a month. Barreiros Diesel had paid the dismissed men fifteen days' wages as compensation. If the sales of Simca picked up, Eduardo promised, those workers would be restored. But in the meantime, they had recourse to the labour courts.[26]

The problems of the Simca were nothing to those encountered by the Dodge. It simply was not selling. There were many reasons, most being out of Eduardo's control: first, after five years of continuous success, 1966–68 in Spain marked a downturn in financial optimism. In addition the engine seemed to make too much noise. Then the Dodge's roof was rather low and so there was a problem of space (it was the kind of mistake which no Chrysler designer would have made in the days of Kaufman Keller). In addition, a large American car was ceasing to be a sign of prestige in Europe. People were even coming to despise it. Further, the Dodge was too expensive. There was too the contrasting point that affected the matter: in those days, a good Spanish car—which the Dodge became after being assembled at Villaverde—always seemed to many inferior to its equivalent made abroad.

In the middle of 1966, it was becoming increasingly obvious that the indebtedness of Barreiros was worsened by the need to buy so many parts for the Dodge. Leaving on one side the Orense project (which had been formally established, despite the difficulties, in September 1967), there was no other possibility for Eduardo than to inspire an increase in sales.[27]

In the summer of 1966, Eduardo and Carranza visited many of the concessionaries. Eduardo's Beechcraft aeroplane permitted them to see at least two of them a day. But that did not serve much; "the difficulty did not lie with the concessionaries but with the fact that the Dodge market was saturated."[28]

In September, after a few days of recovery in the magic climate of La Toja,

with its magnificent hotel on the water, Eduardo returned to the factory. In his brief absence, it seemed that Chrysler had contrived to dominate the working of the place and it remained for its leaders only to isolate Eduardo and to demand the resignations of both Carranza and Fernández Baquero, who, they knew, had criticised them unmercifully.[29] Chrysler was now conducting itself as if its 45 percent share in the firm were really 51 percent.

Fernández Baquero remembered the end of his time in Barreiros Diesel rather differently: in December 1966, he said, he proposed to Eduardo that he should take a year off to dedicate himself to a company, BATANO, which his recently dead father had founded in 1965, in his native León, to distribute the saloon cars of Barreiros. Eduardo knew that he would not return, for the firm to which he had devoted so much was then in the hands of Chrysler and he didn't want "to work in a circus."[30]

Fariña commented, "The notice of the dismissal caused a profound impression because nobody was under any illusion but that it had been entirely caused by American pressure [*impulso americano*]."[31]

The eclipse of Carranza was equally distressing. Less popular than Fernández Baquero, his administrative capacity and financial quickness had, however, been much admired—not least by the Banco de Vizcaya. He himself commented years later: "The automobiles were a great distraction. They complicated everything. The Dodge was too big for Spain of that time, but the Simca worked perfectly well." He, Carranza, said that he saw the danger of Chrysler at the beginning: "I resisted Chrysler. Chrysler vetoed everything. So I realised that there was nothing else to do, and I left." He had been for several years the "right hand" of Eduardo so far as finance was concerned and so he could find no place in the new Chrysler undertaking. He admitted that "Chrysler maintained the forms of good behaviour but [he] had nothing further to do with them."[32]

Roy had written of him in a letter to Bordegeray in 1963: "In the long experience which I have had of dealing with Carranza, I have learned that he is a perfectly honest and very realistic man who in respect of the affairs of banks always carried out what he had undertaken to do. . . . It was very reassuring to know that all the commercial and financial side of the group's work had been confided to him."[33]

The novelist Fariña well described the sad departure from Barreiros Diesel of Carranza who, being at that time *director de administración*, "was completely ignorant of what was being planned for him. He believed that once the matter of the increase of capital had been resolved, that, as he had devoted good service to the company, all would be reestablished on the old basis."[34]

Then he was called in by Eduardo, who told him of the agreement that had

been reached with the Chrysler people, and Eduardo invited him, in the name of maintaining harmony in future, to make a sacrifice and he asked for his voluntary resignation. Carranza was for a moment speechless, then reacted angrily, speaking of his contribution to the work of Barreiros Diesel and saying that it was obviously a trick of the Americans (*una canallada de los yanquis*).

"Eduardo calmed him down and went into a number of explanations and promised him a good financial compensation."[35]

A few days later, Eduardo spoke to the finance committee: sitting between Jack Charipar (then Chrysler's adviser to Fernández Quintas) and Carranza, he explained how, in return for an increase of capital, Chrysler had asked for greater participation and indeed the creation of a finance committee. Its establishment had led to Carranza's resignation, which he, Eduardo, much regretted. He added that the new year, 1967, was going to be a hard year.[36]

With the eclipse of Fernández Baquero and Carranza, Barreiros Diesel entered a new stage of its history, and it never recovered.

29

Very Sad for Us

It is very sad for us that we see ourselves obliged to contemplate these extremes.

—Letter of Eduardo to Gregorio López Bravo, January 13, 1967

In the summer of 1966 Eduardo and Carranza went to London in order to call on the famous and powerful investment bankers S. G. Warburg. Sir Siegmund Warburg (recently knighted) was still in command, but the agent with whom Eduardo and Carranza talked was Spencer Seligman (Seligman's bank had recently merged with Warburg's to their mutual benefit). He travelled later to Madrid to discuss the matter with Eduardo.

Some months later, on November 4, 1966, Eduardo borrowed $10 million from Warburg to cover his short-term liabilities, undertaking to pay back $5 million in August 1967 and the other $5 million in October 1967. Interest would be 7.5 percent a year calculated on the size of the sum still outstanding.[1] The guarantors were Chrysler, the Barreiros family (including not only Valeriano, Graciliano, and Celso but even Dorinda, Mariluz, and Eduardo-Javier), as well as the small shareholders. The Instituto Español de Moneda Extranjera (Spanish Institute for the Control of Foreign Exchange) gave its approval, as was still necessary.

The loan enabled Barreiros Diesel to pay back the Banco de Vizcaya $4 million. The rest went to the other bankers who had helped it.[2] This was also the first major loan made by Warburg in Spain and indeed one of the first made by a British investment bank to a Spanish borrower after 1939.

In October, Eduardo, Bordegaray, and Roy met to discuss another loan of 100 million pesetas from the Banco de Vizcaya for one month until the money from Warburg came through. This was the last major collaboration between Eduardo

and his old friends in Bilbao. But despite the encouragement given by these two loans, it was obvious that Barreiros Diesel was not prospering. Eduardo gave an interview following the dismissal of a number of casual workers (*eventuales*). He said that these were only 4 percent of the personnel but agreed that there was a certain decline in the demand for his products. He added, however, "There is absolutely no crisis in my company."[3]

But that was disingenuous. True, the anxieties created by the dismissal of seven hundred long-term workers in Barreiros Diesel would be soothed by the hope that they might return to the factory in the new year. Anyone over forty-five would be immediately readmitted. There would be also a course of "readaptation." But two days later there had to be a rejection of this favourable interpretation: there were no workers over forty-five years old who were concerned and all those present at these meetings, in the salon of the metal syndicate, wanted work, not reeducation.[4]

In view of all these contradictions, Chrysler evidently thought that it owed Eduardo an explanation. On November 4, 1966, Minett wrote to him to say that Chrysler's preferred policy would be to continue as a minority shareholder in the company.[5] No one believed him, but they were probably wrong. The existing position gave to Chrysler that desirable status, power without responsibility.

Bordegaray wrote to Eduardo at the end of 1966 that the most convenient solution for the problems of Barreiros Diesel and the family would be to arrange:

1. An issue of bonds. There would be no difficulty here from the point of view of the Ministry of Industry.
2. An increase of capital of 500 million pesetas.

Before those two steps, the company could

3. cede to Chrysler another 9 percent of the shares in the company paying 300 percent or even 400 percent of the market price; and
4. there could be purchase by deferred payment, at 300 percent of the market price, of the shares of the small private investors in Barreiros Diesel. One shareholder who would have to be treated "with a certain tact would be our bank [Banco de Vizcaya]."[6]

Bordegaray sent to Eduardo a draft letter from himself to all these investors that assumed that Chrysler would take 49 percent of the shares and the Barreiros family retain 51 percent. The draft read:

> Our relationship with Chrysler . . . is very cordial[!], although in my . . . talks with them, they inevitably betray their eagerness to increase their holding in our company. It is only natural that I should resist this, because I founded it, to-

gether with my brothers. . . . It is logical for our "official bodies" to resist having a foreign company with a majority shareholding, because of what it might be able to do with such an industrial stronghold. . . . All of these circumstances have openly inclined me to a buy-back of shares so that the Spanish stake is in the family's hands, even though the current holders of these shares, such as yourself and the Banco de Vizcaya, deserve our greatest respect and affection. Due to the large sums involved, we cannot pay cash for all of the shares that you and the Banco de Vizcaya hold. It would have to be a deferred payment: in four annual payments, with a 25% cash payment up front. An exchange of 30–40% could be set, and the amounts deferred would bear interest at 6%.

Vale[riano] and I would be the buyers . . . I know in advance that . . . as soon as we reach an arrangement with Chrysler, your shares would be at our family's disposal, a gesture I appreciate very much, and which I am keeping in mind. With regard to the Banco [de Vizcaya], I remember that about 1958 you asked my family to sell it some of our shares. According to my records, the family sold shares with a face value of 20 million [pesetas]. . . .

I would also like to believe that Chrysler would be pleased if the Spanish stake were held solely by the Barreiros family.[7]

On January 4, Eduardo sent Bordegaray a copy of a letter based on this draft. The purpose was to maintain the high standing of Eduardo in the world of business that Bordegaray thought he deserved.

All the same, at the end of 1966, the company was in a much worse position than it had been at the same time in 1965. The money in hand had fallen considerably. Various restrictive laws affecting sales by instalment and also some deflationary financial policies had limited Eduardo's freedom of action. Exports, though they went to over twenty countries, had not increased.[8] Sales to Africa, for example, had been damaged by the wild instability of the economies in that continent. Penetration into Eastern Europe had been slow. The Middle East was equally difficult, since only Turkey seemed stable.[9] Nevertheless, Eduardo had found Cuba a good market. Already indeed Castaño, the director-general of international sales, was negotiating for a sale of 1,000 lorries in Cuba and his second-in-command, Ángel Palomino, was in Havana.[10] But Chrysler, because of the United States' blockade of Cuba, instructed Castaño to order his representative to return to Spain and sign nothing. Eduardo sent one of his brothers (Valeriano) to present his apologies to the Cuban government: something that they later remembered to Eduardo's advantage.[11]

Eduardo seemed uncertain which of the alternatives suggested by Bordegaray he would act upon. His delay was uncharacteristic. Then in the spring of 1967,

Chrysler put Eduardo on a false footing by suggesting that an increase of capital was necessary.

From that moment on, even before any new arrangement was reached, the Americans were in effective command. They named as their chief negotiator—that is, as potential co-chairman—a man whom Cavero thought "good but very strange in his ways": Jack Charipar, who had previously acted as Chrysler's adviser to Fernández Quintas, who had liked him. Eduardo did not.[12]

Charipar, like Arras, was tall and blond with blue eyes, a very typical American, it seemed to the Spaniards. It was said that he spoke several languages but these did not include Spanish. José Fariña said that he was "always smiling, seemed educated, reserved, cold, with a very white skin."[13]

He met the directors-general and, greeting them in translated English, declared that of course the company depended on its workers, not its machines.[14]

So far, so good. But 1967 began with bad news. Eduardo had arranged a credit of 66 million pesetas from the Banco de Crédito Industrial. He needed this for the payment of monthly expenses including wages, not for new undertakings. But he arranged this loan without discussion with the Comisión Financiera of himself and Chrysler's Habib, which had been set up, with his own approval, precisely to direct such matters. That failure to consult led to an unprecedented reproach from Louis Warren from Chrysler at a board meeting on January 13.

Of course in the past Eduardo would have always made a decision of this kind by himself, perhaps after a word with Carranza or Valeriano. He did not find it easy to adapt to the new obligatory collegiate ways. The consequence, though, was that a new committee was set up of two members, the Barreiros family group collectively and, similarly collectively, the Chrysler group. Here were Eduardo and Valeriano, on the one hand, and Habib and Thomas Moore, on the other. They were to concern themselves with any investment of over three million pesetas (say $30,000)—admittedly a far from small investment minimum at that time.

Eduardo found, however, that Chrysler was not going to underwrite the loan that he thought that he had achieved. The consequence was that Eduardo wrote an extraordinary letter to López Bravo as minister for industry:

> To-day [January 13, 1967] we have had official information that Chrysler will not agree to alter the agreements that we have with them. That means that we will not have the guarantee which you asked for for the formalisation of the loan that we wanted. It is true that we could offer our personal fortune to secure the loan, but that would not have the guarantees which you request. We can choose: (1) first, to devote all of our efforts to ensuring a controlling inter-

est in Spanish—namely, the family's—hands, which involves certain credit needs to be paid off in a reasonable time frame; . . .

(2) [or] give up a large part of our stake, settling for maintaining a minority shareholding of the order of 15%. In that case, we would be sure that we could meet the company's long-term needs with the proceeds from the sale of the rest of the stock, and not have to consider assistance from the government. . . .

We are consulting you about this out of a sense of responsibility, as we understand that the solution or course to be followed must be a mutual decision. . . .

It is very painful for us to have to consider these possibilities, especially the second one . . . [15]

What a terrible letter to have had to write! Yet he did not yet realise the extent to which López Bravo himself was determined to keep his distance from him.

López Bravo wrote back to Eduardo on January 18 offering a loan of 1,000 million pesetas for which the government wanted a pledge of that amount in the form of shares of Barreiros Diesel. Eduardo instead suggested:

First, Barreiros Diesel would place 20.5 percent of its shares "as a 'pignoratitious' guarantee of the loan" (actually, Eduardo believed that these shares were worth much more than 1,000 million at face value: more like 1,100 or even 1,400 million).

Second, a personal guarantee "with all [Barreiros Diesel's] goods present and future" in such a way that the firm cannot realize "any family alienation" of its goods without previous authorisation of the government. Eduardo wrote, "[At] a very prudent estimate, we think our 'fortune' is worth 800 million pesetas—perhaps nearer 900 million."

Third, in respect of the remaining 30 percent of the shares held by the Barreiros family, they would be ready to "reach a compromise with the government whereby [they] would not sell or otherwise dispose any of [their] wealth while the loan survives without the previous agreement of the government. The official value of this 30% would be about 1,600 million pesetas but probably really be 2,000 million."[16]

The overall wealth of the Barreiros family at that time, taking into account objects and properties as well as the shares in Barreiros Diesel (valued at 2,000 million), must have been about 3,000 million pesetas ($50 million).

This proposal took López Bravo by surprise. He understandably delayed his reply. In the meantime, Chrysler made it evident that it would, if necessary (for example, if the government did not concede the credit needed), pay the sum required, the repayment to be in five years, 100 million pesetas in the first and sec-

ond years, 200 million the third and fourth years, and 400 million the fifth—all at an interest of 8 percent. It would spread the last payment over two years if it were more convenient.[17] Eduardo and Valeriano would retain 46 percent of the shares and the other brothers (Graciliano, Celso) and Mary 4.5 percent all told; other Spanish shareholders, 9.5 percent.

López Bravo was willing to make available 1,000 million pesetas, but he did not want to seem to be lending to Chrysler. Presumably the government was afraid of the possibility that the Barreiroses would reduce its participation in the firm.

On January 24 Eduardo told the ministry that Chrysler had promised help if the government did not concede the credit. The family would give a guarantee of 20.5 percent of the shares of Barreiros Diesel in addition to the rest of their patrimony, and would offer the collaboration of one of their bankers. The Barreiros family could thereby get the credit of 1,000 million pesetas under a formula of the sale of shares that would be theirs in the event of an expansion of the company—the interest would be 8 percent and be paid back in the six years desired by Eduardo.[18]

The consequence was that in February 1967, Barreiros Diesel increased its capital stock by $33.3 million. Chrysler would buy 40 percent of the new issue. Chrysler also agreed to buy any shares not subscribed to by the other, minor Spanish shareholders, up to 9.5 percent of the new issue. Those shareholders, Lobo, Franco Salgado, Sanchis Sancho, and their colleagues, did not so subscribe, so that Chrysler gained another 5.28 percent equity as a result of exercising this choice.

Chrysler thought that the "erosion of Barreiros Diesel's cash position" had been caused by first, a 20 percent decrease in sales; second, heavy increases in warranty costs (double what had been forecast); third, a big investment in the distribution network, in property, plant and equipment, and in acquiring the outside interests in associated companies; and fourth, the accumulation of excessive stocks of raw materials in process and finished goods.[19]

Eduardo was still fighting for his independence, but he seemed besieged. He was grasping at every straw. One was a large one. He suggested that Barreiros Diesel might do well to merge, under his chairmanship, not just with SAVA but with ENASA, INI's truck-making plant. For an entrepreneur in difficulties that was a brave offer, but as usual he was thwarted by López Bravo, who accepted that it would be desirable for there to be "only two car manufacturing companies in Spain. But a merger between Barreiros and ENASA even though not impossible would probably damage the interests of the buyers."[20] That would have been

an encouraging statement for Eduardo a few years earlier. Now it was too late, and had there been such a merger, there would have been little chance that López Bravo would have named Eduardo the chairman.

On April 1, 1967, Eduardo wrote to his brothers notes about the proposed loan of 1,000 million pesetas from the government, which would have to be paid off in instalments of 250,000 over four years every April 1.[21] The interest of 7.5 percent over four years would, he worked out, amount to 168 million. He told his brothers that they would have to do all they could to pay the loan off in only two years; otherwise, they would certainly become minority shareholders in the business, and have to sell their shares for a fraction of what they were worth.

Eduardo told the family that in consequence they would have to abandon their "desires of grandeur." Every million "which we save could mean an income for the future of 100,000 pesetas. We should not spend more than is strictly necessary. So, it should henceforth be 'no' to expensive dressmakers, 'no' to giving parties, 'no' to restaurants, and we, in our flat in the Castellana, will restrict our domestic staff to a 'cook, a maid, one waiter at the table and one handyman.'"[22]

This sage advice did not prevent Eduardo going to a *cacería* offered by General Franco in the Pardo where there was present Manuel Fraga, still minister for information and tourism; Oriol, the minister for justice; José Solís Ruiz; Nicolás Franco; Castiella, the foreign minister; and Admiral Carrero Blanco.[23] Nothing suggests that the issue of Chrysler and the independence of Barreiros was raised over the partridges, but Eduardo surely was thinking of his next move between drives.

On April 26, 1967, the board met. Eduardo said, "We must take into account that the shareholders have the right to subscribe to the financial institutions' shares on the occasion of the capital increase." He reminded the board that the company's shareholders held these rights to subscribe new shares in proportion to their stake in the company until June 22 and that therefore it was premature to think about making any decision prior to that date.

Then Minett explained that Chrysler "in no way sought the opportunity to buy other shareholders' rights or to buy shares that would give it such rights, nor was it anxious to increase its current 40% stake in the share capital. . . . When the deadline for subscribing the new issue lapses," he said "Chrysler would consider the proposal by the board members representing the employees with the greatest sympathy."[24]

On July 24, Eduardo was in Detroit. There are some manuscript notes of his for a meeting there with Erwin Graham, a new director-general in charge of the European division of Chrysler (he too, like his chairman, Townsend, had been an accountant before he had been an executive in Chrysler). Eduardo wrote:

1. I feel very pleased that the relations between Chrysler and the Barreiros family are friendly;
2. Our business, being one of the biggest in terms of volume in all Spain and international projection, is being organised along the Chrysler method; and our situation is tight, a little short of money, but not at all dangerous.

Eduardo was now racking his brains to think how he could prevent Chrysler taking a majority holding in the company.[25] Chrysler had at that time a good handful of foreign assets: a 64 percent controlling interest in SIMCA, for example, so completing Colbert's investment of 25 percent in 1958. Chrysler had bought Rootes in 1967. In 1965, Townsend had bought Fevre & Basset in Argentina, the Fábrica Colombiana in Bogotá, and SIMCA's Brazilian subsidiary in 1966.[26] They were thus far more internationally involved than they had been in 1963.

Chrysler also prepared for this meeting. The Barreiros Archives include a summary of the position as of February when there had been that slight increase—4 percent—in their share. Now Chrysler thought that Barreiros Diesel needed another $35 million to cover the repayment of their $10 million loan from Warburg and for other expenses in the next two years.[27]

The paper added, "In the best interests of all shareholders of Barreiros Diesel, Chrysler must take management control of the company." This was the first clear statement of that intention.

Chrysler wanted clarification from the Spanish government: "It is the desire of Chrysler to minimise, to the greatest extent possible, financial losses by the Barreiros family resulting from their borrowings from the Spanish government made to enable them to participate in the last capital increase and to assure ourselves that an orderly repayment plan is carried out."

Chrysler, it was now made clear, would make a plan for the repayment of the Warburg loan, and set afoot another scheme for a further capital increase (through the Chase Manhattan Bank) that would enable it to hold a 49 percent share of the total shares of Barreiros Diesel. Chrysler would then lend $30 million to the company for four years, and seek approval of the Spanish government to buy a 100 percent share in a Spanish finance company that would one day, if necessary, hold an unlimited interest in Barreiros Diesel. Perhaps that would be COFIC, whose shares were currently held 60 percent by Barreiros Diesel and the rest by friendly banks.

Chrysler would also seek, by a new capital increase, to obtain a 51 percent share in Barreiros Diesel. The Barreiros family would resign their positions in the company, and a new secretary would be appointed by Chrysler. Eduardo

would continue to be chairman but he would have no executive powers. The family would eventually make available enough shares to enable Chrysler to have a 70 percent share in the company.

The paper ended with an estimate of assets as of December 1967: current assets were named at $78 million, other assets at $171 million.[28]

The struggle of Eduardo with Chrysler now became intense. He suddenly realised what was at stake and that Minett's reassurances that Chrysler did not want a majority share in the firm were not valid, if they ever had been. He could also see that Chrysler would soon be reducing drastically its emphasis on industrial vehicles such as the Barreiros lorries and concentrate on saloon cars.

The only way for Eduardo to save the company seemed to be to seek external financing. That meant looking for money in foreign banks. Such banks were prepared to go ahead and lend, provided, however, that they received the guarantee of the Chrysler Corporation. Chrysler accepted that but demanded various things of the company such as an intensification of the programme of Americanisation, and the removal of all who opposed it.

On August 3, 1967, a meeting of the board of directors was held in Villaverde. Eduardo said that he had obtained a delay in the repayment of the first $5 million then due to Warburg in London—that is, a repayment of half the total loan. He said that he had obtained that delay so that "for $5 million they would have to pay it all back on the 4th of December next paying an interest of 6.75."[29] Eduardo said that he had gained approval for this loan from the Instituto Español de Moneda Extranjera. This would not affect the repayment of the theoretical second half of the loan in October. The board approved this idea unanimously.[30] Seligman of Warburg's, who had arrived that day at the Ritz Hotel in Madrid, was pleased.

Next day Eduardo wrote yet another remarkable letter to López Bravo at the Ministry of Industry: to say that everything had been satisfactory in respect of his cash flow in Barreiros Diesel until July 1966. Then, there had been the loan of the Banco de Crédito Industrial to the Barreiros family of 1,000 million pesetas. His financial advisers had thought that an "increase of 2,000 million pesetas would be enough for the business to meet all its commitments, supposing an annual turnover of 12,000 million. We hope, too, to have a reduction of stocks. . . . The difficulty about carrying through this scheme is that we risk placing a large part of our providers 'on the edge of bankruptcy.'

"The fact is that this year for the first time in the history of our company, our balance may be negative. If the present situation does not change in a short time, 1968 will also be negative, though 1969 should be positive and thereafter much more.

"Our preoccupation at this time" said Eduardo, "is very great because our

most recent studies show that the business needs another 2,000 million [perhaps]. We are sure that, if this credit becomes available, we shall be able to pay it off within three years."

Eduardo pointed out that Chrysler had increased its holding from 40 to 45.28 percent. It was prepared to solve the problem of a shortage of capital on condition that it could buy a majority holding in the company. It would then increase the capital of Barreiros by $5 million with all the small shareholders giving up their holdings. That would give it 49.9 percent of the business. It would not give it a majority, but it would be able to obtain that by buying some of the 4.2 percent of shares still in the hands of Spaniards such as Sanchis Sancho or Bordegaray, outside the family.

"We thought that we should enter into contact with you [López Bravo] to discuss whether we should accede to Chrysler's proposals. Or perhaps there are other solutions which you consider more suitable for the country."[31]

To this letter was attached a memorandum that showed that Barreiros Diesel had exported, up to May 31, 1967, $3.6 million of goods, and that exports "previstas hasta fin de 1967" were another $9 million, of which, $4.5 million would go to Egypt (445 buses), 1,200 Dodge Dart taxis to Colombia, bringing in $2.2 million, while $700,000 worth of buses was to go to Cuba. Several important operations were under way, of which the most significant was a sale of some military vehicles to Venezuela that would bring in $4 million, as well as a smaller export of the same to Saudi Arabia.[32]

López Bravo replied to Eduardo that he had done "everything possible to avoid seeing Barreiros Diesel going over to foreign control. Seeking the financial support necessary, I convoked to my office in August, interrupting my holiday, the president of INI [the Malagueño José Sirvent], the chief of INI [Joaquín García Chamorro], the president of ENASA, and the president of SEAT to see if there was some other solution to the problem of the business. None of them could see a way forward. INI would have taken over Barreiros if it had been ordered to do so. But the problems that had been encountered by Barreiros did not have an entrepreneurial solution." Money was needed. Only Chrysler could help, thought the minister.[33]

On August 18, Erwin Graham of Chrysler, the ex-accountant, wrote to Eduardo saying he was surprised not to have heard from him after their discussion in Detroit. It was essential, he went on, in the best interests of Barreiros Diesel, the Barreiros family, and also of Chrysler that the financial status of the company be expeditiously resolved. It was necessary, too, to tell the Spanish government fully as soon as possible of their future plans.

Chrysler's preferred position, Erwin Graham went on, would be to continue

to be a minority shareholder in Barreiros Diesel, but "substantial amounts of additional capital had to be injected into the business." It was their policy, said Graham, "not to extend payment obligations, make loans or guarantees of loans, or incur any such similar obligations in favour of companies in which Chrysler does not have a majority equity position."

"Because of the crisis . . . ," Graham went on, "we obtained the approval of our Board of Directors [in Detroit] to an extension for sixty days of the Chrysler guarantee of the loan from Warburg to Barreiros Diesel." This was a provisional solution until they had time to work things out. He went on: "If any such solution is to involve a further investment by Chrysler, it is imperative that we reach an understanding on a financing plan so that a 'project request' can be reviewed internally and submitted to our Board of Directors in time to allow completion of financing before we pay the necessary $5 million due on the Warburg loan on October 4, 1967.

"We think that the Spanish government [that is, López Bravo] should be consulted promptly."[34]

The response was not slow to come. After an extended discussion between Eduardo, Valeriano, and Íñigo Cavero, of which no record seems to have been made, Barreiros Diesel on September 16 presented a request to the Spanish cabinet that Chrysler should be allowed a percentage share of up to 77.2 percent in the company. Such a request was still necessary in those years: a 49 percent share was the maximum a company could have from a foreign investor without explicit approval.

This was the first time a proposal of this nature had been presented to the government. At the same time, Estanislao Chaves also wrote to López Bravo to explain that the financial needs of the company were about 2,100 million pesetas, which could be covered by 1,200 million from Chrysler, 750 million from the Banco de Crédito Industrial (the Ministry of Industry), and 150 million from the Barreiros family—which would constitute part of the 1,220 million that Chrysler would pay the family for shares at a nominal value of 1,000 million. A portion of the figure would be destined to the immediate cancellation of the loan of 1,000 million previously conceded to the family by the Banco de Crédito Industrial, of which only 70 million remained. Estanislao Chaves assured the minister that Chrysler would limit the non-Spanish personnel to the minimum.[35]

Finally, on October 6, 1967, the Council of Ministers approved the increase in the Chrysler stake in Barreiros Diesel from 45 percent to 77.12 percent. General Franco forbade ministers to take notes of discussions in his cabinet, so there is no record of this discussion and I have found no reference to it in the papers of the Franco Foundation.[36] By that time, however, the cabinet knew all about the Dodge cars if only because Eduardo had ensured that most of those ministers

had them as one of their main means of transport. The cabinet took its decision with three conditions.

The following week a new contract was signed between Chrysler and the Barreiros family. Whereas Chrysler wanted to gain permission from the Spanish government for buying up 77.2 percent of the company, and whereas "the Barreiros group" wanted to sell themselves (or rather cause to be cancelled a loan of 1,000 million pesetas), it was agreed that "the shares concerned shall be sold at 1,220 million pesetas."[37] The debate had been drawn out; the conclusion was swift.

Irving Minett, probably the most balanced of the Chrysler directors on the board, later wrote that the real problem was that "the company was experiencing financial problems and there was a dire need for an infusion of cash. . . . There were two routes, either borrowing or additional capital investment. Borrowing was a poor choice because the company was already deeply in debt, that contributing to the problem. The Barreiros family favoured borrowing because that course left their percentage of stock . . . intact. A capital increase, on the other hand, required that they come up with very substantial additional investment to maintain their percentage of ownership and control. This they could not or would not do. The capital investment plan won out as the most logical solution . . . with the result that Chrysler's additional investment [eventually] gave it majority control."[38]

As a corollary of these arrangements, Warburg again extended the date by which their loan had to be paid back: this time to April 4, 1968, when both portions of the $10 million due would be settled. Interest would be at 7 percent for the first $5 million and 7.25 percent on the second one.[39]

Erwin Graham, vice president of Chrysler International, accompanied these decisions with a letter to Eduardo expressing the hope that he and his brothers would continue with the company not only as now minority shareholders but as active members of the board.[40] Yet, the fact was that from then until May 1969, wrote the able Spanish economic historians García Ruiz and Manuel Santos, "the Barreiros family would live a calvary in the very company which they had founded."[41]

The irony was that outwardly Eduardo seemed in an overwhelmingly powerful position. *The Director* in August 1967 referred to him as "after General Franco" the "odds-on most powerful man in Spain." The journal went on to speak of Eduardo as "the very top of Spain's new industrial infrastructure of new plants, gainfully employed foreign capital and a booming consumer demand." Even though his roots are "in a system whose origins are civil war and a statist ideology," *The Director* continued, "Barreiros's commitment as a great industrialist will do more than any other to change the regime by supplying the individual Spaniard's urge to share in the quiet revolution of consumer expectation."[42]

30

A Combination of Adversities

Este conjunto de adversidades dio lugar a enormes problemas económicos.

—Eduardo to his brothers, c. 1968

Barreiros Diesel at the moment of Chrysler's capture of power in the company at the end of 1967 was worth a little more than $36 million. That included 850 million pesetas for the land on which the fábrica had been built (the property totalled 1,306,000 square metres), and over 140 million in buildings (no less than 300,000 square metres of industrial buildings).[1] Most of the old products of the company were still a success: Eduardo, through the gifted Julio Vidal, the able *coruñés* who served the firm in Egypt, had most advantageously just sold two hundred military lorries (the Panter III) to King Faisal.[2] Of the new products of the Chrysler era, the Simca was now selling well. Only the Dodge, icon of Barreiros in its new stage, was a failure: only 2,745 Dodges had been sold in 1967, less than half than that figure in 1966 and very far indeed from the 20,000 a year at first planned for.[3] One of those working on the sale of the Dodge later commented: "You must know, Eduardo Barreiros and his friends knew everything about engineering, but they knew nothing of marketing. Yet marketing, though a lesser science, is still a science which you have to learn."[4]

Chrysler, however, had had an excellent year in the United States. They had sold more than 250,000 Dodges at home. That would comfort the managers during 1968, which would be a difficult time, with continuous strikes in the plant in Detroit. That was, after all, the era of the foundation of DRUM, the "Dodge revolutionary union movement." It came into being since the administration of Chrysler looked to the black ghetto for common labour and to the suburbs for white skilled workers.

But Chrysler under the presidency of its super-accountant, Townsend, was deep in difficulties for several reasons. In 1966, its "sales bank" had amounted to 60,000 cars. These remained in warehouse-parks with little attention paid to their preservation, while the salesmen pressed them enthusiastically on dealers who knew that if they were patient, they could secure them at a discount. The cars that could not be unloaded to dealers were assigned to the Chrysler Finance Corporation, which might easily leave them untended for months, even through a Detroit winter. That was bad for morale. So was the fact that the company's debt was getting steadily bigger.[5]

Even so, now that Chrysler was in full control of Barreiros Diesel, the managers of that body did not hesitate to introduce changes in the company. They still thought that what worked in Detroit could be assumed to do the same in Spain. No consideration was given at any stage to the sensitivity of their position, nor to the fact that successful companies operating in a foreign country prosper only if they take trouble to be diplomatic. In this respect, Chrysler, for all its riches, behaved almost as a provincial business; while Barreiros Diesel, for all its modest means, in comparison conducted itself as a metropolitan undertaking.

At meetings of the board thereafter the old directors were surprised to find that the Chrysler directors would have a private talk among themselves beforehand. They would then go into the meeting with their Spanish colleagues and announce decisions rather than invite discussion. Justo García de Vicuña, the workers' representative on the board in consequence of Solís's Law of Management, recalled Eduardo weeping with vexation afterwards.[6]

Before the first meeting of the directors in the new circumstances, some of the old directors resigned. These included Eduardo's brother-in-law, Ignacio Liniers, the always patient Bordegaray, and his long-serving colleagues, Eulate, Melchor, and Rahn. Equally, Eduardo's youngest brother, Celso, resigned as secretary, and Íñigo Cavero, the legal adviser, succeeded him (Celso had a new lease on life briefly, a little later, as a representative of the shareholders on the board, alongside García de Vicuña).

Chrysler proposed as new directors a new collection of names of executives: Tom Killefer, Jack Charipar, Richard McKenzie, Charles W. Hester (soon to be succeeded by Harry Cheseborough, a senior Chrysler manager),[7] and Celso García Ferrero. These Americans were not only unknown to the workers in the factory but also to their colleagues on the board.

Eduardo, Valeriano, and Graciliano all also resigned as *consejeros delegados*, and Jack Charipar, the Seventh-day Baptist who was already vice president, was named to fill their collective place.[8] Charipar from then on, at meetings of the board, gave that summary of the activities of the company that in the past had al-

ways been offered by Valeriano. Eduardo remained the chairman and presided at meetings of the board, but he did little else. He ceased to walk daily through the plant. Charipar never did that. Relations between management and workers soon became normal, dull, and difficult.

There was even for the first time a threat of a strike called by the illegal underground workers union (Comisiones Obreras) whose inspiration was Marcelino Camacho, a labour leader from the Communist Party. In the past that would have been unheard of since, as one of Franco's later ministers, José Utrera, in the sixties under-secretary for labour, remarked, "even the *Comisiones Obreras* . . . respected him [Barreiros]."[9] The commissions on this occasion had left leaflets in the factory, in the workshops at night and in the lavatories. Sometimes cars passed with people throwing out the same onto the pavements. But in the event nothing transpired while Eduardo was still president of the company. The protest of Comisiones Obreras was cleverly managed from within by the government-sponsored metalworkers' union in the Barreiros factory. It took the shape of a denunciation of a planned series of dismissals. An enquiry was held and the dismissals were called off. This seems to have been the first occasion that a government union so acted.

Meantime, Charipar did not take Eduardo into his confidence in relation to new proposals. There were also daily disputes even in minor matters: invitations by Barreiros Diesel had the name of Charipar accompanying that of Eduardo; whose name should go first?

Charipar, as a good organisation executive, busied himself with a new "organigram," a matter to which officials of Chrysler, like many American companies, devoted an inordinate amount of time. Charipar and his friends also considered ways of controlling Eduardo's affiliate in Bogotá, Colombiana, Automoción, and also other filiales in South America, so as to leave the coast clear for Chrysler's own representatives. There was next year a scheme to make all exports depend on those same Chrysler branches (which indeed occurred). There would soon also be a plan to buy the shares of minor shareholders of DIMASA, EFISA, and COFIC so that Chrysler would control those typically Eduardian enterprises.

In return, said Habib, the Chrysler overseas capital corporation would lend Barreiros Diesel $20 million—$15 million there and then, and $5 million soon, enabling the immediate end of the much-discussed loan from Warburg. Chrysler would not think of being paid back for this in 1972. The interest would be a mere 6.5 percent.[10] Charipar also wanted to "restructrure" MOSA, the main distribution company for the centre of Spain.[11]

Madrid was at first perturbed at this North American invasion, but the anxiety soon died down. The Left thought that such things as the eclipse of Barreiros

Diesel were the logical consequences of capitalism. The Right were inclined to follow the mood of the late Cardinal Segura and condemn the heresy of close relations with the United States.

Inside the firm, however, there was now a constant preoccupation: the senior personnel wanted to know what was going to happen. Would their jobs be taken over by Americans? The workers were also perturbed. Even though their jobs seemed secure, they did not like the methods introduced by the Americans, and no one knew where they would end.

Charipar and Habib, with their American assistants, passed the first days after they obtained their new percentage in constant meetings behind closed doors. They were said to be proposing yet another "*organigrama funcional*." The Spanish executives also met in small groups, seeing the future with pessimism and speaking of uniting against the common enemy. As for Eduardo, he seemed to be becoming a decorative figure, since new arrangements could be decided without consulting him. Two days after taking over, Charipar ordered that the hour of lunch should be at two o'clock. Hours for work were from 8:30 to 5:30. These were to be fulfilled absolutely. No more of that working until seven in the evening at earliest!

Spanish secretaries or chauffeurs who spoke good English, like Americans who spoke good Spanish, enjoyed spectacular promotions.

Charipar made a presentation of his new "organigrama," translated by an interpreter into Spanish. The new structure, he insisted, would reflect the experience of the company in their sacred Detroit, over half a century of dynamism and growth. He defined the word "organisation," which, he said, should be better understood. Any functioning "organisation" needed to have three bases: first, a philosophy, a reason for existing; second, a clearly defined purpose; third, an explicit way of attaining its aims.[12] Eduardo and his colleagues listened in stunned silence to what they took to be a statement of the obvious.

Habib now had the title of director of staff, and he thought that some of the Spanish departmental directors should give up their fine offices. The Chrysler men seemed to be engaged in a systematic campaign against all the old directorate, limiting the committees on which they served, creating new departments restricted to Americans, changing their offices, without forgetting the size of the carpets in their offices, even the type of typewriter. The "muchachos" of Uncle Sam, especially Charipar, seemed to think that the Spaniards were foolishly punctilious on points of honour, with an exaggerated sense of *amour propre*. They assumed that if their colleagues suffered indignities, they would request their voluntary resignation from the company and so leave Villaverde with no "golden handshake."[13]

There was soon a meeting of the committee of shareholders, at which Eduardo explained formally if optimistically how he had "offered to Chrysler a substantial number of shares." He added "that after some conversations with Chrysler which had developed with sincerity, Chrysler had decided to buy the shares offered them." Eduardo said that he was entirely satisfied that Chrysler was going to control 77 percent of Barreiros Diesel, S.A., and added that he thought that this would give the firm many new possibilities.[14]

Eduardo made it plain in these months that he still had ambitions—ambitions beyond Spain, and even beyond motor cars. Thus in March 1968 he was in New York to discuss with the president of Mobil Oil the possibilities of oil in Fernando Poo (still for another twelve months a Spanish possession in the Gulf of Guinea). Eduardo had been allowed by the Spanish state some 150,000 hectares in that island for development. Until that date, they had made two investigations. This had been done from boats, and, because of the movement of the sea, frequent breakdowns had occurred that prevented them from reaching the depths which had been foreseen.

So, in future, with the agreement of Mobil Oil, the "perforations" would be made not just from the sea but from platforms on it. Our people, Eduardo thought, had the same capacity as those of Mobil Oil and the same as those used in the Persian Gulf. In this undertaking, Mobil Oil had 40 percent, CEPSA another 40 percent, and Eduardo 20 percent.

With the decline of Eduardo's position, disputes even opened with his brothers—even with the faithful Valeriano, who had done so much for the administration of Barreiros Diesel, especially in the early days. For example, in June 1966 Eduardo quarreled with Valeriano over the financing of motorways in which Eduardo had been left under the impression that he had invested but in which Valeriano left him no place. The dispute derived from a misunderstanding and it seems to have been speedily patched up. But such an argument would not have occurred before.[15]

By this time, Fariña said, "the old mood at lunch in the directors' dining room at Villaverde had changed, meals passed in silence and in a certain tension."

All the same, Eduardo remained the subject of attention of public flattery and prize-winning. On May 25, 1968, the much sought-after Dag Hammarskjöld Prize was presented to him for "industrial merits." Such occasions maintained his morale.

To improve the mood of the company, Eduardo convoked a meeting of the directors. He said, with Charipar at his side, that the directors-general and the managers were spending too much time speculating about the future. He said

that what was decided in the company was the exclusive domain of the board of directors and of himself as president, and the task of the directors-general was to carry out their instructions. There was no obligation for the directors to explain what was being done: there was, indeed, no need to explain anything! All the same, Eduardo said that he was going to explain. After all, the economic position of the country was less encouraging than it had been. He had, he said, noticed that a piece of machinery was too large for the hole in which it was going to be placed. He pointed this out: "I asked why an appropriate modification had not been made." The worker concerned said that he had pointed out the problem to his boss but the regulations within the plant now made it impossible to change a plan that had been decided upon without waiting two months.

Eduardo said that that incident showed that it was necessary to revive in the company the speed and subtlety that it used to have.

Some thought that this statement was a declaration that the "American advisers" had failed and that the famous new "proceedings" served only to create forms, signatures, controls, and bureaucracy.[16]

Charipar also tried to express optimism. Thus at a board meeting in October 1968 he talked not only of the sales of the Dodge (or the lack of them), the developments in Orense (or the lack of them too), but also of MOSA, DITASA, and the Chrysler Financial Corporation. He thought that, next March, March 1969, the new tractor 5,000 and, in April, new models of fifteen-, seventeen-, and twenty-ton lorries would be put on the market. In June 1969, there would be new twenty-six- and thirty-eight- ton lorries.[17] But the Dodge remained the black sheep of the firm: only 1,332 were sold in 1968. Chrysler's designers tried to improve the old model.[18] A diesel motor, a Barreiros C-65, was even installed in a Dodge Dart.[19] But such minor efforts to soothe matters could not hide that, within the new direction of the company which he had himself founded, Eduardo was almost in rebellion. He made constant complaints to Charipar, who in contrast continued to rule the company while marginalising the president.

Antoñanzas now followed other leaders of the old Barreiros Diesel into retirement.[20] He had been a member of an "administrative committee" presided over by Charipar, and he had remained a director-general—for "manufacture and assembly."[21] There seemed to be disputes every day about the methods of work to be used. Eduardo seemed increasingly to want to devote the firm's attention to the things he knew about, tractors, buses, motors and trucks, while the Chrysler people wanted to concentrate on motor cars.

"I remember talking to Habib, then the chief executive of Chrysler," Antoñanzas said, "who said, 'Be patient, Antoñanzas, because, in the end, Barreiros

will leave. You will be the bridge between two cultures,' he added." Antoñanzas left the office and soon afterwards was sent for by Eduardo, who said: "Be calm, Antoñanzas, because one day we shall fire all these Americans."

"But by then," Antoñanzas said, "my patience was exhausted."[22] He was at that time being paid about two-thirds more than the million pesetas a year with which he, like all other directors-general, had been rewarded in the early 1960s.[23]

This was a sad time: "*triste, desde luego*," said Graciliano, years later, adding, with an exquisite use of words, "the Americans did not show themselves so good-mannered as we hoped and expected."[24] There were also arguments because Habib sought to cut costs, including the cost of journeys of all kinds. There were executives whom the men of Chrysler wanted to force to resign by imposing all kinds of inconveniences. The Chrysler staff were imposing their countrymen in all the important posts; and most of the old-established Spaniards thought that they had been sent to the "warehouse of dead men" or of "obsolete pieces." They knew that there were three sections in that plant—some things for the scrap-heap, some recoverable, others being easily transformed!

The average worker in Barreiros Diesel was at that time still being paid much more than what he might have received in a comparable firm: 7,500 pesetas per month.[25] Yet that did not inspire calm in every circumstance. One executive wrote: "The *yanquis* want me to leave and are employing every kind of method to get rid of me. But I am not going to leave. I know that many say that my posture is not a worthy one. But I say in reply that I am poor and the poor have neither dollars nor dignity. Dignity for the moment is a luxury which is only for the rich."[26] He even echoed the motto of Franco's "provisional lieutenants" in the civil war: "resist and justify" (*resistir y justificar*).

One complaint of Eduardo was continuous: the Chrysler people had argued that thanks to their global network, they could sell the products of Villaverde internationally. But they did not fulfil that commitment. Such sales of the Dodges and Simcas as there were in Colombia were indeed due to the old Barreiros network.[27] But the first action of Chrysler when it came to control Barreiros Diesel was to dismantle that organisation. That was a foolish decision since it had been so successful, selling in Egypt thousands of buses and lorries.

At this time, Eduardo wrote a sad memorandum to his brothers. He said: "My organism as well as my head is exhausted because of events of the last year. In the last twelve months a series of adversities have come up that have ended by destroying me. A huge decline in sales has been caused by the economic condition of the country and by the sharp decline in the quality of all our industrial products. This combination of difficulties has caused us our own private economic

problems. We have been obliged to become minority partners." He added with prescience that he was convinced that in future "there would not be in the world more than six manufacturing companies making vehicles with an international share-ownership."[28] Three would be North American, two European and one Japanese. His prediction was a little overpessimistic so far as Europe was concerned but it had its real significance.

Eduardo added that he had made a tremendous effort that, together with the "financial problems had deformed [him] to the extent of causing [him] to believe in nothing and in nobody." He wrote, "It is well-known that, since I was fourteen years old, I worked an average of fifteen hours a day. I have dedicated no time at all to my wife nor to my children, I do not know what a holiday is. I find myself with no energy left, and without the spirit to dedicate myself to business. I think I would really prefer not to continue as president of Barreiros Diesel. I understand though that would damage our joint interests in the business unless one of you take that post, which is my wish."[29]

But Eduardo's brothers, Valeriano, Graciliano, and Celso, knew also that they could not work much more with the Chrysler Corporation.

One further matter that infuriated Eduardo was the apparent decline in servicing his products, which was reflected in a letter from a certain Eduardo Vidal, of Transportes Vidal, who explained the reason why he had ceased to be a client of Barreiros. He had a fleet of fifty-two lorries of which twenty were Barreiros Gran Rutas. He had the exclusive right to sell the products of Nestlé in Spain. The reason he wanted to close his account was, he said, first the "bad treatment I received for the last 18 months." Second, he said, "I don't understand why you have stopped building trucks of the old type since mine did 150,000 miles without fault, better than Saurer, Leyland, Volvo, and Man." Nor did he like the Dodge that he had bought: he commented, "Whenever it rains I must stop somewhere if I don't want to get wet. They [the garage to which he was used] have already seen the car five times and they do not correct this defect."[30]

Eduardo sent this letter to Chrysler in translation. He received no reply.

31

We Never Thought That We Would Reach This Moment

> We never thought that we would reach this moment. We founded Barreiros Diesel, and only those who have done the hard work know of the efforts, sacrifices, and satisfactions. . . .
>
> —*Eduardo to the shareholders, May 27, 1969*

A proposal soon came from Chrysler that led directly to the conclusion of the struggle between the famous company of Detroit and Eduardo Barreiros. In February 1969, Eduardo recalled later, "we were called together by Chrysler's representatives to discuss a new capital increase. A number of arguments were used against such an increase [by ourselves] without our being able to change the opinion of the majority." This was not a meeting of the board but an informal gathering of Eduardo and Valeriano, Cavero, Charipar, Eduardo's friend Francisco Chaves, Torres, Habib, Estanislao Chaves Viciana, and a new Chrysler executive, J. M. Galvin. No decision was made but Charipar said that an increase of equity of $32.5 million was necessary.

The majority of the meeting thought that the best way to raise this money was to accept an offer of Chrysler to put up $25 million of the sum needed. That could be done in ninety days. The rest ($7.475 million) could be found by the Spanish shareholders over five years. The two Barreiros brothers present kept their counsel. They knew that they had been outmanoeuvred.[1]

A few weeks later, on March 21, a meeting of the board at Villaverde considered the same matter in more detail. The Barreiros family were still against Chrysler's idea and Eduardo said that the argument that it was necessary to raise the money was Chrysler's, not his. He and Valeriano wrote to Minett and Killefer complaining. They received no reply.

Their note had talked of delays in production and of "staff unrest." This was caused by the appointment by, first, foreign (i.e., American) personnel to jobs for which they were not qualified, which implied a reduction of the Spanish staff; second, by differences in salaries between the American and Spanish staff without justification; and third, by constant changes in jobs. No less than three "organigrams" had been made by Charipar in 1968.[2]

Eduardo spoke on March 21 to the board. His statement had been translated beforehand by the secretary, Cavero, and that translation had been circulated. Eduardo said: "In meetings held at Barreiros Diesel, Chrysler's representatives expressed the need to launch a capital increase equivalent to $32.5 million. Chrysler was willing to give the Barreiros family all the leeway it might need to exercise their rights, establishing a time frame in which . . . they could be exercised, or Chrysler could subscribe the Barreiros family's portion and grant it an option to purchase the respective shares."[3]

The Barreiros brothers argued against the need for an increase but were unable to change Chrysler's mind. They then went on to study the formulas proposed by Chrysler for the increase.

"The last news we had about this subject," said Eduardo, "was that Chrysler would reconsider the subscription period, which would be only until 30 November 1969, as well as the amount of the increase, an equivalent of $39 million."

The Barreiros family, Eduardo went on, thought the increase of capital unnecessary. The figures given of likely losses were unaccountably low. Then ever since the capture of a majority holding by Chrysler, the Barreiros family had been cold-shouldered. "At the first board meeting held after Chrysler took control," Eduardo continued, "Chrysler's board members assumed exclusive powers for company management. The fact of the matter is that, from that time onwards, the members of the Barreiros family who remained on the board, including the chairman, were informed about the company's financial developments only at meetings."

Cavero, who had had to read all this out, later remembered, "I have experienced many difficult moments in my lifetime, in for example the context of politics of the transition [he was a minister to Adolfo Suárez in 1976] . . . but never have I been more upset than I was as secretary of the board of directors of Barreiros, when Eduardo wanted me to read a document, which I tried to soften as I went along, using synonyms that sounded less harsh, while he insisted, somewhat angrily, that I read 'exactly what it said.' That session in 1969 was tremendously tense, and I remember that I went home to bed because I had a real anxiety seeing what Eduardo Barreiros had to endure in that harsh confrontation."[4]

Cavero added, "Then I understood that, from that time on, the only solution was a negotiated departure, for Chrysler to buy the Barreiroses' stake [but] based on the company's true value, to give them money and, in exchange, the Barreiros family would leave and Eduardo could undertake other activities."[5]

Estanislao Chaves Viciana then said that without going into detail, he wanted to state his profound disagreement with the statement of Eduardo's. The other Chrysler men—Charipar, Cheseborough, García Ferrero on behalf of the personnel, Graham, Habib, and Warren—said that they thought the same. Estanislao Chaves challenged Eduardo in other ways. Valeriano also spoke. The matters discussed revolved around whether Eduardo had given an accurate version of events. All the Chrysler men thought that he had not done so.

Eduardo next expressed his disagreement with any plan for an increase of capital. Valeriano agreed that it was not necessary. Eduardo then said that he had in mind his resignation as president of the board of directors.[6] The debate rumbled on. Eduardo had written another letter on March 13. Cavero then read that out also. It said that the board ought to take into account "Eduardo's desire and that of the Barreiros family shareholders that the shares from the latest capital increase be listed on the stock market and the stock certificates representing the company's capital be issued to their owners."[7]

On April 11, the board met again. On this occasion, to the astonishment of the Chrysler directors, Eduardo said that after considering the matter, the Barreiros group of shareholders would vote in favour of the increase of capital after all. This was a tactical change of plan, for Eduardo had already made a private decision to resign.

A much relieved Charipar then discussed how the increase of capital could be best arranged, and how they were going to propose to the meeting of shareholders planned for that very day at 6 P.M. an increase of capital of 2,702,550,000 pesetas. His idea was for 2,702,550 shares of 1,000 pesetas to be available between April 11, 1969, and April 11, 1971. Existing shareholders could buy these shares for 850 pesetas each.[8]

Soon after this, Eduardo went again to New York with Cavero and "Paco" Chaves, who was becoming his chief administrative adviser in place of Carranza and even, to some extent, Valeriano. He saw Minett, Galvin, and Estanislao Chaves. On April 23, Eduardo gave a memorandum to his Chrysler colleagues (in English). In this, Eduardo said, "The information you have had about the capital increase, and the exposition of the Company, is wrong. Chrysler in Madrid are trying to present a picture which 'might justify the mistakes which they are making.'"[9]

Eduardo recalled that on March 21, he had talked of his own possible resigna-

tion. The truth was that it was most disappointing to be the chairman of a badly managed company that makes large losses and "not to be able to participate in decisions which might avoid catastrophe." "In the last two years, as you know," he said, "we, the Barreiros family, haven't had an active part in any of the decisions of Barreiros Diesel though, whenever our advice has been asked for, you have had it without reserve and with great efficiency." Reports by Chrysler had suggested that the recent unfavourable events encountered by the company were due to "previous mistakes and their consequences." But that was not so. The decline in sales was because the company had not tried to sell its products. The failure to sell the Dodge Dart, for example, was the consequence of not making a study of the market, of bad scheduling, of using a second-rate sales organisation, and also the shortage of some essential parts. Charipar's slowness in making decisions had caused disquiet among both staff and the distributors. No consideration had been made for the image of the company. Even the public relations manager of Chrysler in Spain could not express himself in correct Spanish and his physical appearance—a characteristically "Eduardian" approach—was "not quite right."[10]

The Barreiros family urged, first of all, the immediate dismissal of Charipar, who lacked the personality to make good decisions. His successor would have to be a competent and honourable man who knew Spain and Spanish. He would have to communicate to the Barreiros family details of all management discussions.[11]

To bring the discussion to an end, Eduardo said, "We recognise the benevolence of the proceedings of American company life, but it is a great mistake to impose them without adapting them to the size of the enterprise and the mentality of the country concerned."[12]

Eduardo returned to Spain. So did some of his American interlocutors. There was then a dispute over the cost of sending some flowers to Doña Carmen Franco. Charipar said that the company would not pay the bill. The cost was nothing, the quarrel serious.[13]

The next meeting of the board of Barrieros Diesel was on April 30. Few members were present, but Eduardo had prepared a memorandum that he wanted his colleagues to study; it was agreed that it would be discussed about three weeks later, on May 24.

Eduardo then paid a visit with Habib to Lebanon and Saudi Arabia, and returned on May 23.[14] As planned, the day after his return, May 24, the board of directors met again, in Villaverde. Eduardo was in the chair. Also present were Valeriano, Graciliano, and Celso; along with Charipar, Habib, Estanislao Chaves, Cheseborough, García Ferrero, Erwin Graham, Hereil of SIMCA, Richard

Mackenzie, Minett, and Louis B. Warren.[15] These last were Chrysler men. Grey, good men according to their lights; but incapable of a compromise of dignity with an imaginative genius. There were also José Corral Sánchez and Luis Sánchez Mayor, the last two being representatives of the employees.

We can imagine these gentlemen filing into the boardroom on the first floor of the main building of Villaverde—all dressed in dark suits and discreet ties, the Spaniards courteous, the Americans troubled. Eduardo's mien was firm, strong, his mind made up.

First came the approval of the minutes of the previous meeting. Then came an examination of the balance, the gains and losses of 1968. Eduardo said that he wanted to have written into the minutes the statement: "The balance, the account of losses and profits as well as the memorandum explaining the last financial year that is being submitted to the Board are matters that we did not know about until this moment. As a result, we abstain from pronouncing until we talk to the shareholders."[16]

Then Eduardo circulated his own memorandum, which stated that when the undertaking had been made in 1963 with Chrysler, the certificate of the company's incorporation was changed so that it became henceforth necessary to have the support of the minority shareholders for various matters.

Those conditions were intended to safeguard Chrysler while it had been in a minority. Now Eduardo was cleverly insisting that they should apply to him when he was in a similar position. But Chrysler's representatives were unenthusiastic about the idea. Then: "Chrysler not having adopted any solution to the serious problems [of the company]," Eduardo said, "we [the Barreiros directors] present our resignations. . . . Chrysler," he added, "has been guilty of many things; first of all, towards the Government, for there has been a non-fulfilment of the conditions under which Chrysler was allowed to gain a majority vote of Barreiros Diesel; that is, not limiting the non-Spanish personnel to those strictly necessary; second, there had been the 'systematic elimination' of all the old responsible jobs held by Spanish staff, substituting for them with foreigners . . . more qualified and better prepared people were presenting their resignation to the company.

"Finally, gentlemen," Eduardo concluded, "as a businessman all my life, I must say that I cannot understand what is happening. It seems to me that a company of the size and importance of Chrysler should not behave as it has been doing. Normal rules of industrial activities are not being followed. . . . The importance of all the above mentioned facts obliges us, as the creators of the company, to abandon it to-day and, as men responsible for the welfare of thousands of Spaniards who directly or indirectly are employed by the company, to bear wit-

ness of all that has been described, firstly to the Chrysler people, secondly to all Board members, thirdly to Chrysler International and then to the Government, the personnel of the empresa, and to Spanish society as a whole."[17]

The minutes were read. After Eduardo's memorandum and another of Charipar were also read, Eduardo said, as had been mentioned as a likelihood, he as well as his brothers Valeriano, Graciliano, and Celso Barreiros wished to present their resignations from their posts in the company. They then rose and left the room, with Francisco Chaves, who had been asked by Eduardo to accompany him that day.

Charipar acted as chairman for the rest of the meeting. Cavero stayed in his place as secretary. Minett said that the minutes had to reflect the fact that the Chrysler directors were not in agreement with Eduardo. He said that he personally would reply to the letter of Eduardo. Hereil of SIMCA asked meekly if they were going to accept the resignations and whether they would publish the fact. Charipar said that the question of publicity was not a matter for the board, and added that it was untrue that the information had not been given to the directors before the meeting.

The meeting ended at ten to three in the afternoon. Eduardo and his brothers were already in Madrid.[18] Eduardo's new assistant, Enrique Fernández, recalled, "The Barreiros brothers left Villaverde in five cars, Eduardo in front with his chauffeur, then Valeriano, then Graciliano, then Celso, each with their drivers, then Ignacio Liniers, then Fernández. They repaired to Eduardo's home in el Paseo de la Castellana 68. Eduardo said to the assembled company, 'I swear that I'll never see another Dodge.'"[19]

At that time, a young Madrileño admirer of Eduardo, who had begun to work for him as a bellboy in the Calle Ferraz in the 1950s, José María Alonso Collar, a Falangista and later head of the Madrid branch of that movement, was head of security in the fábrica. It was a Saturday and Thomas Habib told him to tell the guards to forbid Eduardo and his brothers to enter the factory during the weekend. Collar said he could not do as asked, because Eduardo was the "patron" whom everyone respected. If he, Collar, told the vigilantes to prevent Eduardo from entering, the most likely eventuality would be that no Americans would be allowed into the factory the following Monday. So Collar said he had to refuse the order of Habib but he would assure his interlocutor that Eduardo would not come back over the weekend. He did not.

The workers on the shop floor were told nothing of what happened. For example, José Antonio Prado said that as workers, "We only heard rumours, nothing was communicated officially."[20] Another employee, Carlos Guillén, said the same: "All we knew was that the capital of the company was every day more

American."[21] Pablo Fernández Barba said that he himself heard the news of the resignation of Eduardo and his brothers through the newspaper *El Pueblo*.[22]

Next day, on Sunday, May 25, 1969, *Ya* published an announcement by Barreiros Diesel that Eduardo had resigned. That was Chrysler's declaration. The company added that Chrysler had increased the capital holding to more than 3,000 million pesetas. In April it had already said that it had had a record turnover of 822 million pesetas. That was 16 percent more than ever before. Sales of Simca in April averaged 100 percent higher than in the previous twenty-four months. Sales of Dodge were 41 percent higher too. Since the sales just before had been so low, those figures meant little. Barreiros Diesel, the statement added, at that moment employed more than 13,000, and the command was in the hands of Spaniards, for there were only fourteen North Americans.[23]

Eduardo, for his part, wrote to the "jurado" of the company, the committee that represented the workers, elected in the 1960s by a general vote, to the trade union leaders and to many personnel of Barreiros Diesel, as well as to José Luis Corral Sánchez and Ginés Sánchez Nayol, the representatives of the personnel on the board:

"We never thought that we would arrive at this moment, " he wrote. "We founded Barreiros Diesel and the efforts, sacrifices, and satisfactions can only be understood by my brothers, a group of men for whom I do not find a suitable adjective in order to give them the appreciation that they deserve.

"Today we presented our resignations from the posts which we held in the company. What most saddens us is that with this we lose contact with those who have worked so hard for the success of a business . . . which was the most admired and the most prosperous in the country."[24] This occurrence was, Eduardo recalled much later, as if it was "to sell his life."[25]

Press comment followed fast. It was all favourable to Eduardo, who was often represented as being a European sacrificed by American insensitivity. Thus, on May 27 Nemesio Fernández Cuesta, a prominent journalist as well as a cavalry colonel, wrote, "As a Spaniard I much regret the resignation of the president of Barreiros Diesel. His impresarial talent, his human value, and his zeal for success are admirable virtues that are difficult to deny to a man who knows how to create from nothing an industrial empire."[26]

American newspapers reported these events without serious comment. The *New York Times*, however, explained that "Spain's leading industrialist" had criticized Chrysler "for lacking understanding of the human values of Spain."[27] *Business Week* reported that the conduct of Chrysler "irritated their Spanish partner."[28] But *Time*, in a more argumentative article, thought that the Barreiros

case would probably prevent other proud men of business in Spain from making large operations with the rich but cold Americans.[29]

Eduardo gave an interview to Martínez Reverte in *Pueblo*. Under the headline "Chrysler did not carry out its obligations," Eduardo explained the whole story of his relations with Chrysler and then said, "Chrysler agreed to increase exports, relying on the strength of its worldwide network, and to bring only those employees to Spain who were strictly necessary for certain technical departments. The results were the exact opposite: in two years, rather than increasing, exports declined. And as far as the technical staff were concerned, they went too far, sending many foreigners to work in non-technical departments when there was no need for them. . . . These circumstances, and others which it would not be advisable to list, have upset us so much that we cannot tolerate it, as businessmen and as Spaniards."[30]

Martínez Reverte said, "However, the press release . . . specified that there were only fourteen American employees." In respect of this Eduardo commented: "No, there aren't only fourteen employees. This will all come to light in due time."

But declarations on both sides began to be demagogic: "One of the American directors [unnamed] told *Business Week*, 'last year we lost here $20 million. Thus we had no alternative than to seek a new increase of capital of $30 million, which alarmed Eduardo."[31]

On May 28, *ABC* reported that Eduardo on May 27 had said, "The great defect of Americans is that they do not know, or do not want to know, how to use human values. A business in the United States has to be managed quite differently from the way that it should be treated in Spain."[32]

Next day, May 29, 1969, in *Arriba*, Fernando Onega wrote: "The resignation of Barreiros . . . is a national *coup d'état*." He blamed "the new economic colonialism. We have to ask," he declared, "if the state is indifferent to all this."[33]

Then, on May 31, *Autorevista* published a self-defence by López Bravo of his inaction in the affair of Eduardo. Still minister of industry for a few more months (he would shortly find himself minister for foreign affairs), López Bravo said that he had tried unsuccessfully the previous year to reach a resolution of Eduardo's problems: "I considered that the Barreiros affair had to have its solution at the entrepreneurial level." The journalist who reported these remarks was led sensibly to ask what financier of Spain would have been willing to invest 6,000 million pesetas in Barreiros Diesel at that stage?[34]

A week later, on June 5, 1969, *Informaciones* had an article, "Elegy for a Single Man," which began by demanding, "'Where is the conscience of the Spanish

people? Where is the Bank of Spain? Where are all of us, you and we, when Eduardo Barreiros lost the majority of the business which he had himself created?' We don't know."[35] The same day, *Diario SP* had an article by its founder, Rodrigo Royo (a longtime editor of *Arriba*), talking of an "economic Gibraltar twelve kilometres from the Puerta del Sol."[36]

Finally, on June 15, 1969, *Ya* published an interview of Eduardo with Martín Agudo: "In no way do I consider myself a failure, absolutely not," Eduardo was credited with saying. "I have been working for 18 years to drive a company ahead. Obstacles have never defeated me, on the contrary they have served as a stimulus for me. Of course, I have made mistakes, as everyone does, but the mistakes served as an education to me as to how to avoid pitfalls in the future."

In the middle of June, Eduardo went back to the factory to tidy up his affairs. Habib and other directors of Chrysler were alarmed. But Eduardo and Cervantes Villamarín, the Orensano ex-lieutenant colonel who had become Eduardo's secretary, packed all their personal things swiftly and left without seeing anyone.[37]

There was a clause in the agreement between Eduardo and Chrysler that restrained Eduardo from any kind of work concerned with motors or vehicles for five years. The text of the agreement said that, having obtained the appropriate permission from the government, the Barreiros family would sell their shares in Barreiros Diesel.[38]

On July 7, Eduardo, Charipar, and McKenzie of Chrysler agreed first that Eduardo would dispose of his and his family's shares (they were then 18.93 percent of the total). Second, he would do this quickly. Third, Chrysler would pay him in three instalments—first when the contract was signed or anyway not later than October 15, the second within eighteen months, and the third within three years.

That meant "the definite separation" of the Barreiros family from Barreiros Diesel. Eduardo and his brothers undertook not to buy any shares in future in Barreiros Diesel either directly or indirectly.[39] In a subsequent declaration of July 8, both Eduardo and the new owners of the firm agreed to refrain from making any declaration or commentary on the question of Barreiros Diesel. To be precise, the shares of the Barreiros family were now handed over to the Banco de Fomento, a governmental institution then presided over by the banker Epifanio Ridruejo.[40] They paid nearly 6,700 million pesetas at par. The rest of the shares were also bought within the next few months.[41]

Finally, at another meeting on July 12, with Charipar and Mackenzie, Eduardo and his brothers agreed also to renounce all their patents.[42]

Three days later, a meeting of the board of directors of Barreiros Diesel was

held in the Hotel San Martín, Orense, still the legal home of the company. It was a new building in front of the clinic of Dr. Vega on the Parque San Lázaro, where Dorinda had given birth to both her children. Cavero remained as the secretary. The board accepted the resignation of the Barrieros family. They did also formally recognise the exceptional qualities of Eduardo. But there does not seem to have been any discussion about his activities in Orense. There was, though, a brief discussion of the matter in Madrid in October when Charipar, Estanislao Chaves, and Cavero, with McKenzie, were asked to conclude any matters that had been embarked upon with the Caja de Ahorros there.

Meanwhile, the brothers Barreiros, in gratitude for all Eduardo's multiple endeavours that had enriched their lives in so many ways, jointly gave him as a present a portrait by Goya of the Asturian rationalist Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, the friend and protégé of Jovellanos and the most famous art historian of his time.[43] This did not seem at first sight an appropriate portrait to give to Eduardo Barreiros, except that he would need all the tranquillity of Ceán Bermúdez to survive the challenges that still lay ahead.

In these exhausting months, the Barreiros family had not had occasion to notice much under way in national politics. They might not have been aware of the Vatican's decision in 1969 to recognise Gallego as a language of the mass. But they would not have overlooked the remarkable statement by Manuel Fraga Iribarne, the liberal Gallego Minister of Information and Tourism, on April 1 that thirty years after the end of the civil war, the regime should abandon any idea that they could bring to trial anyone who had done anything during the conflict. They certainly would have taken in that on July 22, 1969, just two months after their final dispute with Chrysler, Prince Juan Carlos was proclaimed heir to the throne by the Spanish Cortes which, feeble institution though it was, voted in favour of a king by 419 to 19, with nine abstentions.[44]

On July 23 the prince, who knew Villaverde from his visits in the 1960s, accepted this plan formally, swearing loyalty "to His Excellency the Head of State and fidelity to the principles of the movement and the fundamental laws of the kingdom."[45] Franco then spoke of the desirability of a traditional monarchy, Catholic, socially responsible and representative of the nation. The sentence left room for imaginative speculation. But, as all the world knows, the new monarchy, when it came about, as it did within six years of these events, was the lodge gate to a new world.

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Book VI

Aftermath

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A Place in La Mancha

En un lugar de la Mancha.

—*Cervantes,* Don Quijote de la Mancha, *Chapter 1*

The chief concession that Eduardo gave to Chrysler in the summer of 1969 was one that declared that after he left Barreiros Diesel, he would not work in the world of motors for five years. That did not disturb him as much as might have seemed likely, for the struggle with Chrysler had worn his patience thin. He had also, as we have seen, interested himself in several projects in Galicia: gold mining, for example. He had been interested too, as we have seen, in the possibilities of oil in the Spanish African colony of Fernando Poo—Equatorial Africa. That dream faded after the ill-managed grant of independence to that territory in 1969 (the foreign minister, Fernando María de Castiella, was unjustly blamed for what went wrong, and he accordingly resigned in the government reshuffle of the autumn of 1969, soon after Eduardo's final quarrel with Chrysler). Could there be oil perhaps in Spain—even in Aguilar de Campóo in northern Castile? It was not clear. Then Eduardo's advisers, Íñigo Cavero and "Paco" Chaves, recommended him to buy land in, for example, Arturo Soria, a barrio of Madrid near the new motorway M30. But though that was good advice from an economic point of view, Eduardo was uninterested in pure speculation. He wanted to invest in some part of the economy of Spain that itself contributed to the national wealth—something that would not be unworthy of someone who had been called "the Spanish Henry Ford."[1]

What interested him now was a property that he had bought in the province of Ciudad Real just before the last quarrel with Chrysler. This was a finca named Puerto Vallehermoso.

When Eduardo made this investment, he was not simply breaking with Chrysler and the world of motors and automobiles, he was also at last distancing himself from his brothers. For in the summer of 1969, Valeriano, Graciliano, Celso, and Ignacio Liniers, the husband of Mary Barreiros, formed a new company that they named Barreiros Brothers, with its headquarters in Alcalá 32; while Eduardo formed what he called the Grupo de Empresas Eduardo Barreiros, with its seat in María de Molina 1, on the corner of the Paseo de la Castellana. The brothers were for the first time professionally separated, though they remained in "familial contact."

Eduardo's affection for his brothers had been unbounded, but sometimes both he and they had dreamed of independence. Eduardo said that he wanted to rest, to spend more time with his inner family and to leave his brothers (who were younger than he) to follow their own paths. Now Eduardo had new advisers, of whom "Paco" Chaves, the "administrator general" from Cádiz, was the most important for the next few years.

Chaves was five years younger than Eduardo, having been born in 1924.

In 1951 he became an inspector of finances. In that bureaucratic capacity, he worked first in Logroño, then in Ciudad Real. He met Valeriano in the late 1950s in a *peña* in the Calle Serrano. Subsequently, he did some work for Eduardo in respect of a fiscal matter and he then left the civil service to become sub-secretary for economic matters in Barreiros Diesel. After three years, Pío Cabanillas, who it will be remembered had been Eduardo's legal adviser before he became Fraga's undersecretary in the Ministry of Tourism and Information, asked Chaves, whom he had known in Barreiros Diesel, to join him. He did so and he worked as inspector-general of the ministry, which concerned itself with a multitude of activities, from National Editorial Policies to National Theatres, from *Paradores* (state-owned hotels) to tourist transport. This was the era when tourism was every year increasing in a formidable way.

Chaves rejoined Eduardo in 1967. Chaves went to call on Eduardo, who told him that he was expecting to sell most of his holding in Barreiros Diesel to Chrysler. He suggested that Chaves might like to go with Íñigo Cavero to Detroit to discuss the sale. He agreed to do so though he was still working for the ministry.

On Chaves's return to Madrid in September, it became obvious that in the wake of the Matesa scandal there would soon be a change of government, even though that did not occur until 1969. Eduardo, realising that Chaves would therefore also leave the government, offered him a job as a type of chief of staff: "Administrator General," as he himself put it.[2]

It was Chaves who found Puerto Vallehermoso. Eduardo had probably hoped

for an estate somewhat closer to Madrid, in the province of Toledo, for example. But he could not find anything there of the right size costing the right price. Chaves knew of properties in Ciudad Real, having worked there in the government fifteen years earlier. He knew, for example, the Jaraba family, especially the Conde de Casa Valiente, who owned Puerto Vallehermoso, but the Conde was uninterested in it. Eduardo bought that finca for fifty million pesetas, or about $300,000.[3]

Eduardo told *Gaceta Ilustrada:* "I bought the finca as a shooting lodge to have some reason to leave Madrid at the weekend. . . . When I detached myself from Barreiros Diesel I thought of spending two or three years recovering, living *en famille*. Until, of course, the moment arrived for me to embark on other activities."[4]

Puerto Vallehermoso was one more "lugar de la Mancha," as Cervantes put it in *Don Quixote*, a property of nearly 5,000 hectares lying between the towns of Alhambra, La Solana, and Villanueva de los Infantes.[5] It was on the edge of the Campo de Montiel—where Don Quixote began his adventures.[6] The finca was about twenty miles from the famous wine town of Valdepeñas, and within the same distance of such Cervantine towns as Argamasilla de Alba, where Don Quixote is supposed to have lived, and Toboso, the presumed home of Dulcinea. It is even closer to the site of the Cave de Montesinos.

The finca of Puerto Vallehermoso had been in the hands of the family of Casa Valiente since the seventeenth century. It had originally been named Marantona (a corruption of "María Antonia") and had been used chiefly for cattle. There were also partridge shoots. There was no *casa grande*. Only about 120 hectares out of the 5,000 were cultivated: wheat and vines were grown in a modest way on land that had a small amount of it irrigated. Otherwise, the land was given over to sheep. There was a pretty valley along the Masegosa River, which joins the Azuer just outside the property. Delicious crayfish could be caught in these waterways. Like so much of Castile, the place was very hot in summer and very cold in winter. For the development of a cattle farm it was far from ideal, for it had little rain and the soil was poor for pasture. So it was necessary to provide artificial pasture at extra cost. It would have made more sense if it had been made into a vineyard, as indeed occurred in the farm next door, where there were 1,500 hectares of vines.[7]

In the civil war, the finca had been collectivised by the anarchists.[8] The two neighbouring towns, La Solana and Villanueva de los Infantes, each with about 10,000 inhabitants, suffered many assassinations at the beginning of the civil war. There seem afterwards to have been sixteen executions in La Solana after the war.[9] Though these murders and those reprisals were modest in comparison

with what occurred in other parts of Spain, these events left a dark memory over both towns.[10]

In the 1970s, the Barreiros family would go to mass at La Solana when they spent the weekend at the finca, as they often did. There too Eduardo would find his builders, his painters, his carpenters, and eventually his cowmen. For no sooner had he bought the property and founded the Explotaciones Puerto Vallehermoso Sociedad Anónima (PUVASA) than he embarked upon a lavish plan of works.

This was one of the most unusual events in Eduardo's unusual life. He had no experience in agriculture. His life in Galicia in the minifundio of *el abuelo* Francisco had, after all, ended when he was only four years old, when his father took him to Gran Canaria. He did not have the patience of a farmer: he could not even understand why one had to wait six months or longer for a crop.[11] Eduardo told a journalist from *Gaceta Ilustrada* in 1972, "To be honest, until three years ago, I never saw a cow close to."[12] Nor had his father, Eduardo *padre*, worked on the land after his earliest days. His mother, Luzdivina, knew something of agriculture since she had looked after the land of *el abuelo* Francisco in the twenties, but she was not a good source of advice for Ciudad Real. A Gallego might not have approved of Puerto Vallehermoso. Had not Rosalía de Castro in one of her poems asked how God could have made anything so ugly as the plain of Simancas? Her reply was that he had made it for Castilians.[13]

In Villaverde the only contact that Eduardo had had with farmers had been to buy from them more and more land in order to expand his industrial estate. But now here he was, at nearly fifty years of age, a large landowner. He drove his imagination quickly to turn over from cars to cows, from lorries to sheep, from motors to vines, from buses to wheat. If he missed the old hum of his motors in Villaverde, or the factory that had been his cathedral, or the warm conversations with the engineers and the workers on the lathe, not to speak of the exchanges at lunchtime with his brothers and collaborators in the directors' dining room, he kept such thoughts to himself, for he had now at his feet a new world that began to fascinate him as it did those who surrounded him.

As soon as he had bought the farm, he realised that its soil was even drier than he had supposed. He began to look for water and to seek subterranean rivers. He sought out sophisticated geologists and old-fashioned water diviners. He hired a team of hydraulic specialists from Galicia to advise him on irrigation. He set up a cabinet of investigation to advise him on the best opportunities. Eduardo was determined to give the place the irrigation that most writers on Spanish agriculture in the early twentieth century, Joaquín Costa above all, had argued was the key to the development of such properties.[14] He bought every machine that

seemed appropriate. He planned to turn these unruly sheep pastures into grassland for the best cattle, and the long-neglected tracts of fallow land into fields of barley. Since Uruguay was known as a producer of good meat, Eduardo hired a professor of agriculture from Montevideo to give advice, as well as two skilled lassooers from the pampas there. Thus, within only a few months of his purchase of the land, there were to be found 700 yearlings on the property, not to speak of several hundred hectares of new barley—a hectareage that increased to 3,000 by 1973.

Long before that, Eduardo had built several houses for his senior employees so that Puerto Vallehermoso became a small town. Special buses took children to school in La Solana. These workers were astonished, if delighted, to find that when they took up residence in their new houses, a ham was waiting for them in the kitchen. As he had done at Villaverde, he paid his workers twice as much as local employers and so they were inclined to remain with him. He also built a modest but comfortable *casa grande* for himself to which his family and he began to go at weekends. Eduardo himself designed the house without the help of an architect.

The cattle in Puerto Vallehermoso had two functions: first, to produce good meat—Eduardo hoped that businessmen would soon go into good restaurants in Madrid and order a "Barreiros steak." In the more remote future he hoped that they would do the same in Europe: he continued to be a firm believer in a European market.

Second, he wanted to develop cattle for breeding and, indeed, exporting. To begin with, these cattle were to be *retinta* (dark chestnut) and *avileña* (brown): and by 1972, 5,000 of these reliable animals were to be found in the large new sheds (*naves*) he was building. By the end of the 1970s, there were 5,000 square yards of shed in Puerto Vallehermoso.

But Eduardo had greater ambitions. He went to Paris with some advisers. They went to see a large number of farms in the Nivernais, and also to the *foire de Paris* in the Porte d'Orléans. They began to buy Charolais cattle, starting with the spectacularly successful "Barnum," which weighed about 1,200 kilos, a bull that had won all the prizes in Paris the previous year, including the gold medal. They spent 100,000 francs (c. $18,000) on Barnum, and at the same time, they bought many cows.[15]

Eduardo also brought back six other breeding bulls that had won prizes in numerous competitions. In a few years, Eduardo expected to have 20,000 head of cattle. These would serve two purposes: first, to breed with pure Charolais; and second, to breed with Spanish cows, such as Retintas and Avileñas, for the production of meat. The cattle were to be housed in a shed with a central *cúpula*

fifty yards in diameter from which extended, in the shape of a star, three sheds 100 yards long and twenty-five broad. This fine building was nicknamed "Notre Dame de Charolais."[16]

Eduardo conducted himself at the finca much as he had done at Villaverde. He was as ever an innovator, ever conscious of duties to his workers: thus he fitted air conditioning to his tractors. Once a machinist was killed at work. Eduardo bought his pregnant widow a flat in La Solana and had it decorated. He himself supervised the detail. He and Dorinda also became godparents to the posthumous daughter, Mariseba.[17] He found that a girl who had been a waitress in the workers' dining room, Rosario Calderero, had a malformed hand. Eduardo sent her to Madrid to be treated by a plastic surgeon at his expense.[18] He also continued to present cars to his friends, as he had done in Villaverde (for example, to his secretary in Madrid, María Pilar Fusi, and to Margarita Gila, the secretary of "Paco" Chaves). When he was staying at the farm, he was always to be found in the nave. He had no early hours and no late ones. Cold and hot weather seemed much the same to him. Though he continued to have his main office in María de Molina 1 in Madrid, he would drive down to Puerto Vallehermoso frequently, often in the middle of the week. He usually stayed from Thursday to Monday, except during the shooting season, when he was at the finca indefinitely. Partridge was the game. There was no artificial preparation, for there were enough wild partridges. Eduardo, however, did also retain in the 1970s his shoot (*coto*) at Villasequilla in Toledo.

He would go often with his son, Eduardo-Javier, as well as Dorinda, and sometimes his daughter, Mariluz, would come with friends, for whom he arranged many horses and some motorcycles, on which they often would ride and drive all over the property, sometimes over the crops. Góngora thought them "demons" but the tolerant Eduardo discounted the idea that they could do any damage at all.[19]

Those who went to the shoots of Eduardo in the 1970s were the same as ever: ministers, bankers, entrepreneurs. Eduardo gave a shoot in honour of Manuel Fraga when he was ambassador to London.[20]

In January 1972, Juan Luis Cebrián, then working for the newspaper *Informaciones*, gave an impression of a visit to the finca: "Eduardo," he wrote, "is already without doubt the first cattle-breeder in Spain and he is on his way to become the first such in Europe. . . . He has built his finca as if it were an industrial shed."[21]

Then Alfonso Navalón, the bullfight correspondent of the same newspaper, wrote an article "A Great Cattle Adventure Is Under Way." The article ran, "To see 5,000 head of cattle in just a little more than an hour is something that breaks the image one had about the cattle of our Spain." It was also quite different from the kind of finca bought for relaxation by many retired entrepreneurs.

For Eduardo was building "a cattle ranch of the greatest ambition which we have ever seen. It is surely the greatest economic adventure that any Spaniard has ever set out to achieve, perhaps because we Spaniards have always had a very measured and easygoing attitude to the countryside. And above all because the country has never been business. [But here] . . . 35 millones [of pesetas] invested in buying a herd of Charolais cattle, at present approximately 200 in all, forming by itself a collection bigger than anything in Europe, because normally the little herds are rarely more than fifty in number. . . . The husbandry included the hard task of converting over 2,000 uncultivated hectares into 2,000 of *cereales*, and 600 irrigated land. . . . Every part of the land has been studied by three teams of geologists."[22]

Eduardo gave an interview at the finca to *Gaceta Ilustrada:* "The roar of a motor is different from the lowing of a cow?" asked the imaginative journalist. "Yes, it's different. The first sounded to me like a symphony. The second is, well, they moo [*mugen*]."[23]

The interviewer collected snippets of Eduardo's conversation as they drove around the finca: "García Navazo, this cow is in heat. Tell Manolo to bring her a bull. . . . Góngora, we must clean up this bit of land. Let the work begin tomorrow. No, no this bull is tired. It does not surprise me in the least because today he has been with three or four cows. Why didn't you bring in Champion, García Navazo?" Eduardo then asked after the children of his employees, and about a sick wife.[24]

José Manuel Góngora, who had been brought up in Madrid in a right-wing family and became an *ingeniero agrónomo,* met Eduardo with his brother Mariano, an economist who was working for Eduardo in María de Molina, at the end of 1969. Eduardo asked him to interpret an analysis of the possibilities of extending the irrigation on the farm. Góngora wrote a report and then Eduardo asked to see him and invited him to work for him. He wanted him to be a manager, a *gerente,* not a technician. Góngora began to work there in January 1970.

"At that stage," Góngora recalled, "Eduardo had a magnetic character and we would have cut off our hands to work for him." In 1971, he himself went to live at the finca, where he stayed three and a half years in one of the new *chalés.* He took his wife, and his first son was born there. He scarcely left the finca except for summer holidays. When he arrived, building was going on at every side and there were far too many people: three vets, for example, which Góngora cut down to one.

He also began to seek out people who might come in from time to time—for example, Francisco García Navazo, a "travelling professor" in the school of agricultural engineers in Madrid. He was an agricultural engineer who had been a vet. His specialty was vaccination.

García Navazo went to the finca, and Eduardo said, "You must come and help me." Eventually, after working for two years as a consultant, he left the university and worked for Eduardo full time. By that time, Eduardo was working on much the same principles in his hacienda as he had worked in his industry. He also would give or arrange classes for his workers.[25]

Eduardo told him that he wanted to make a "brand of meat," as if it were a *vino de marca* (in which he was also interested). Eduardo, thought García Navazo, always sought the best. He worked ceaselessly, he was not the man to "*descansar.*"

The decisions in the finca were then taken by a committee on which there served José Manuel Góngora, García Navazo, the ubiquitous Paco Chaves as general manager, another specialist in genetics who came once a month, and Carlos Rein, an agricultural engineer from Málaga whose father had been minister of agriculture just after the second world war. Eduardo sometimes attended.

Carlos Rein began to work for Eduardo in 1969 and remained with him until 1978, when he became director of tobacco in the Ministry of Agriculture. He personally always thought that the best land in Spain was in Andalusia, but Eduardo wanted to be in reach of Madrid because of his other interests.

It seemed that by 1973, four years after that harsh board meeting with Chrysler in Villaverde in May 1969, Eduardo was beginning to find himself again. Yet things were not the same as they had been. Cattle were fascinating, but they were not motors. For that reason, Eduardo established in Puerto de Vallehermoso a large workshop for agricultural machinery of all sorts.

He also began to consider making motors again. Who knew when this might become useful? He was after all about to reach the end of the five years of his legal abstention from working with motors.

That said, Eduardo had nothing to do with his old firm. Chrysler changed the name of Barreiros Diesel to Chrysler España in July 1970. Sales of the Dodge continued to be bad but those of the SIMCA (both the SIMCA 1000 and 1200) improved greatly since Chrysler decided to export a great quantity to northern Europe. No one knew what that new name meant. Occasionally, Eduardo would comment on matters relating to automobiles: in May 1970, for instance, he told the press that for there to be a Spanish national car it would be necessary to build a million a year.[26] Otherwise he seemed to live in his brave new world of cows and corn.

Then Chrysler España, like all that company's operations in Europe, encountered its doom. The collapse of the car market in the United States following the oil crisis of 1973 soon obliged the great "third most important automobile business in the world" to sell most of its European activities. The corporation had apparently underestimated how difficult it would be to save Rootes in England and

SIMCA in France, much less the many Barreiros products. Townsend, the chief executive who would have done better had he remained chief accountant, became increasingly unpredictable. Sometimes he seemed mean, sometimes charming. He began to drink and resigned in July 1975.[27]

Chrysler then had the humiliating task, unprecedented for a great United States private company, to have to tell the British Labour government that without support of British public funds, it would be forced to close all its manufacturing activities in England. The government's Central Policy Review Staff (CPRS) thought that to do as Chrysler asked would be to damage all British business. But the government itself hesitated, and it was not until 1978, the last year of James Callaghan's government, that all Chrysler's European activities, including those great naves at Villaverde, were sold to the French enterprise Peugeot.[28] What a fall was there for the mighty Chrysler!

33

Life Has Dealt Me a Bad Hand

> You can imagine the magnitude of my anxiety. Recently life through CEFI has dealt me a bad hand.
>
> —*Eduardo Barreiros to Alberto de Comenge y Gerpe, September 22, 1980*

Apart from his agricultural property, Eduardo became interested in many undertakings after leaving Villaverde: too many, perhaps, for his own good. First, there was an undertaking directly connected with Puerto Vallehermoso: a bodega in Valdepeñas. In 1973, he bought a majority holding in Luis Megía, a fine bodega of that city responsible for a beautiful wine. Eduardo determined to improve it. He arranged to hold his wine in oak barrels. He contracted a wine specialist from Chile, established a laboratory, and in a year or two, began to produce a wine with more body, more bouquet, and more colour than the old one. This new Luis Megía wine was often served in good restaurants in Madrid even though a wine from Valdepeñas had the name of being cheap, light, and popular. Yet it never developed an "image" enabling it to be sold, and exported, on a large scale.

Eduardo himself was a moderate drinker: he said in 1972, "I drink little. Now I take a glass of wine or two at meals but before I was accustomed to drink a bottle."[1]

Eduardo named José Manuel Góngora from the finca the manager of this enterprise. It was a good nomination since, at the university, Góngora had specialised in agricultural industries, of which viniculture had been one. Next year Eduardo took control of six distributors: Castellana de la Viva, Catalán de Bebidas, Andaluzas Bebidas (in Seville), and La Levantina (in Alicante). Eduardo also sold Scotch whisky, sherry (through Crofts), and some mineral water.

These were large undertakings. But in 1976, Eduardo sold 70 percent of his holding to the Banco Exterior de España and to PRODINSA, an investment company deriving from the Banco de España, in which his old rival and friend Claudio Boada of INI was president. A new *consejero general* of the group was appointed, José María Isla Sánchez, a "commercially minded man" with whom Góngora expressed himself as happy to work with. But at their first meeting, Isla Sánchez put to him what he considered some strange questions. Góngora soon also noticed that the regular summaries of commerce that were used were not based on the figures that he had himself supplied. After a month there was an audit of the group. Góngora was asked to collaborate. The result again bore no relation to the actual figures. He rang to protest to Chaves, the general administrator of Eduardo's affairs who, he recalled, named him a traitor.[2]

Góngora waited another year, for the new management confirmed him in his place. He spent much of this time preparing summaries of possibilities. Disputes continued. When he did resign in the summer of 1978, he went to say good-bye to Eduardo, who said, "I am going to ask Paco Chaves to come and say good-bye to you"; but Góngora said, "No, I don't wish to say good-bye to Chaves."[3] He and Chaves had never recovered their good relations after their argument about figures.

Soon after, Eduardo himself sold out the rest of his holding—that is, the remaining 30 percent—in Luis Megía on the formal ground that he did not want to have his money in a firm that he did not own.[4] Why Eduardo abandoned this group in the first place was, Góngora thought afterwards, a mystery. He believed that it was the beginning of a deterioration of the good name of Eduardo in the financial world in which he became "the innocent victim of his closest associates."[5]

Another secondary interest of Eduardo's in the 1970s was an investment in mines in the province of Orense. Eduardo had always thought that he might find gold in his province, and he always kept a piece of gold, apparently from Orense, on his desk. Medieval Spain was full of stories of gold being found in Gallegan rivers or lost on the way to cathedrals. The word "Orense" was indeed related to the Latin "Oro," after all. Dorinda's river Sil had been known for gold in Roman days. Eduardo had also invested in a gold mine in Carballiño, a city ten miles from Orense better known for the way that the monks there had prepared octopus (the tradition survives). More recently, rich Indianos had built the church there. Eduardo did in the end find gold in the pyrites of the zone, but it brought in less than the exploration had cost.[6]

Eduardo's main mining concern, however, was the Centro Minero de Penouta founded to explore oxide of tin near Verín, a town where long ago in the

1940s he and Valeriano, with BECOSA, had mended the road. In this new adventure, he had the support of an old friend from Orense, Cesáreo Sánchez, who bought 47.5 percent of the firm and owned the mine. Eduardo had another 47.5 percent of the shares and financed the necessary works. A third investor with 5 percent was "Caito" Martín Esperanza, still the head of the Caja de Ahorros of Orense.

Eduardo had other interests: for example, INTERBOX, the "centro internacional de envases S.A.," which to the great benefit of the investors after 1976 built tin cans in Valdemorrillo near El Escorial, on the initiative of Alberto Comenge Gerpe, a substantial businessman from Valencia who was also president of El Águila beers.[7] INTERBOX was a remarkable success since it was soon selling more than half the national consumption in an expanding market. There were also INBURSA, FIMISA, FILMISA, and CEFISA. These were investment companies, each with different emphases. FIMISA, for example, was concerned primarily with Orense.

CEFISA (Centro Financiero Inmobilario S.A.) was the most ambitious of these undertakings. It had been founded in 1965 with an initial capital of 200 million pesetas. The idea was to buy property and sell apartments and houses by instalment: to do what banks were still slow at doing. It was not very active until Eduardo's quarrel with Chrysler, though it had been known for its fine dining room in its headquarters on the corner of the Calles Goya and Serrano in Madrid. In 1970 it was presided over by Pío Cabanillas, Eduardo's ex-lawyer and the deputy to Manuel Fraga during most of the 1960s in the Ministry of Information and Tourism.

Cabanillas, as we have seen, was a delightful man whom everyone loved. Cabanillas later had a decisive effect on the political evolution of the conservative (PP) leader, José María Aznar, who would visit him regularly in the late 1980s. But he had no entrepreneurial qualities and the fact that Eduardo gave him such a responsibility at CEFI S.A. shows a lack of judgement on his part.

CEFI in 1970 had 40 million pesetas invested, but the figure had increased twelvefold to 500 million by 1974. The Caja de Ahorros de Madrid had a 20 percent share in it, and alongside Cabanillas as president, Eduardo, "Paco" Chaves, Celso Barreiros, and Belarmino Peña Moreno were vice presidents. The latter, a Madrileño, had worked with Eduardo at Villaverde as sub-director-general of manufacturing between 1961 and 1966. It had indeed been he and José Fariña who in 1964 had visited Simca at Poissy in France on Eduardo's behalf to report on the methods of work there, and he had also accompanied Eduardo to Paris to buy the bull Barnum.[8]

The directors of CEFI reflected these interests. Felipe Ruiz de Velasco and

"Caito" Martín Esperanza were presidents of the Caja de Ahorros of Madrid and of Orense, respectively, the former being also concerned in the football club Real Madrid and the latter being among Eduardo's oldest friends; others were Juan Ignacio Macrohon Jarava, president of the shareholders of the Caja de Ahorros of Madrid; Manuel Ortínez Murt, vice president of Olivetti, Spain, with interests in the Caja de Ahorros of Catalonia and a close friend of the president of the Catalan government in exile, José Tarradellas (soon to revive, most happily, his Catalan political life), whom, indeed, he helped to return to Spain in 1977;[9] and Andrés Martínez Bordiú, the able brother of General Franco's son-in-law, Villaverde, who was a director of the Caja de Ahorros in Madrid. A clever Orensano lawyer, Francisco Javier González Gurriarán, became secretary.

In January 1974, Cabanillas was offered the ministry of information, Fraga's old post, in the new cabinet of Arias Navarro. He accepted. Somewhat surprisingly, he continued to accept his monthly salary (as well as 5 percent of the benefits of the enterprise) as president of CEFI, while he so acted—as Eduardo complained to him.[10] Eduardo then himself became first acting, and then permanent, president of CEFI.

INBURSA, FIMISA, and FILMISA all had 200 million invested in 1974 and reserves of between 220 and 250 million. None of these, however, were as important as CEFI, which became something like a small bank.

So Eduardo developed an astonishing number of many financial interests in General Franco's last years. These (as was Puerto Vallehermoso) were all managed from the office in María de Molina 1, where Eduardo, Dorinda, and their two now adult children lived on the floor below. Chaves was the head of the office and Eduardo delegated many responsibilities to him. Also in the office were Mariano Góngora, responsible for investments, who had with him Agustín Gómez Acebo and Carlos Viada.[11]

These men and women were working in a Spain that was every year growing richer at an extraordinary rate of more than 7 percent a year. The economy, therefore, was justly referred to as "the Spanish miracle." No country in Europe could then compete.

Eduardo's relations with General Franco continued after he left Barreiros Diesel. They remained shooting companions. In December 1969 Eduardo held a shoot at Villasequilla attended by General Franco with other ministers such as Tomás Allende García, minister of agriculture; Alonso Vega, until recently minister of the interior; Antonio Bienvenida, the bullfighter; and regular visitors such as Andrés Martínez Bordiú and Sanchis Sancho. In February 1970, Eduardo went to El Pardo to see Jacques Deray's exciting film *La Piscina*,[12] and on another occasion, he was there to see Sidney Lumet's *La Cita*. In February 1971,

Eduardo was at a *montería* (a shoot where wild boar were the game) in El Pardo. The prince and princess, Juan Carlos and Sofía, were also present. In July during these years, Eduardo and Dorinda were guests at Franco's celebration at La Granja on the anniversary of the rising of 1936. They drank champagne from the Catalan estate of Perelada with the surviving generals of the civil war and speculated about the fountains and the future.

On August 25, 1974, the general and Doña Carmen received Eduardo and Dorinda for lunch at the Pazo de Meirás with its wonderful views down towards Betanzos.[13] In 1975, Eduardo was again at the Granja to celebrate the thirty-ninth anniversary of the rising, the last such celebration.

Yet despite these regular gatherings suggesting social immobilism, everywhere there were signs of change. General Franco said in a radio speech on December 31, 1969, that everything was "tied up and well tied up" (*atado y bien atado*). But was it? Did the general perhaps mean that, after he died, Admiral Carrero Blanco, the anti-pornographer, critic of Fraga but friend of Eduardo, would rule with Prince Juan Carlos, who, it was assumed, would be a figurehead sold as monarch to the public by the picture paper *Hola*, television, and *Paris Match*? Most Spaniards, Eduardo among them, lived, in the early 1970s, in an era of "*asignatura pendiente*," waiting anxiously for something political to happen. There were innumerable little splinter groups of the so-called national movement (as the Falange Española de las JONS became formally known in April 1970), innumerable conversations about the future but no certainty about anything. Torcuato Fernández-Miranda, minister for the movement in 1970, made curiously incoherent speeches that merely added to the prevailing confusion. Consider this masterpiece of obfuscation: "I am not going to fall into the trap of saying 'yes' or 'no' to the idea of 'political associationism' because in that way one will never clarify matters."[14] Ministers might be younger but even in the early 1970s most of them were men who had taken part in the civil war, if not necessarily as soldiers: a Falangista, Vicente Mortes, for example, minister of housing in 1969, had been in the fifth column throughout the war in Madrid. "Santiago y abre España [Santiago and open up Spain]," demanded a Gallego writer, Tuñas Bouzón, in July 1970 in the *Faro de Vigo*, the best newspaper of that city, turning a traditional Spanish saying ("Santiago y cierra España! [Santiago and close ranks, Spain]") to good use. Strikes organised by the unofficial trades unions grew in number, though by 1970 most of the official delegates in vertical syndicates were being elected fairly by the workers.

In November 1972, on the request of his fellow Gallego Manuel Fraga, soon to be General Franco's last ambassador in London, Eduardo invested 300,000 pesetas in an undertaking, PRISA (Promotora de Informaciones S.A.), which was

planning to embark on the promotion of liberal magazines and newspapers.[15] This became eventually the parent of the famous centre left newspaper *El País*. Thus Eduardo, despite his connections with the existing regime, became a co-founder of a business concerned to secure its replacement.[16]

The regime of Franco remained isolated internationally despite the visits of prominent North Americans such as the linguistically accomplished General Walters, the fascinating Henry Kissinger, and the controversial presidents Nixon and Ford.[17] But there were, all the same, some striking positive achievements. First in importance were the new education laws of José Luis Villar Palasí as minister of education in 1971, the first general reform of Spanish schooling since 1857. Villar Palasí established the modern Spanish school system, based on a memorandum called "Education in Spain" by Ricardo Díez Hochleitner, Villar Palasí's intelligent undersecretary of education. The plan was that every child should have eight years of education, and despite the rapid growth of the Spanish population, the country seemed to have at last enough schools and schoolteachers to be able to meet that goal.[18]

So far as the organisation of labour was concerned, Licinio de la Fuente, the positive-minded minister of labour, tried to introduce a liberal law on strikes suggesting that a strike should be legal if 60 percent of the workers in a firm formally supported it. He resigned in February 1975 when the idea was disallowed.[19]

But by that time many changes were beginning. Admiral Carrero Blanco at last became prime minister of Spain in the summer of 1973, a post that he had held in the shadow for years. General Franco, "old and weak," as General Vernon Walters had found him in February 1971, was retiring to a discreetly inactive if grandfatherly headship of state. In December 1973 Carrero decided to have a discussion in the cabinet about political change, even "pluralism," and he planned it for December 20.[20] The prime minister left his apartment that morning in the Calle Hermanos Becquer in one of the new Dodges that had been sold to the government by Chrysler after Eduardo had left Villaverde.[21] He travelled with only a chauffeur, using the same route as always. He had reached the Jesuit church in the Calle Claudio Coello when a bomb exploded from below the road and blew up the Dodge—the first major political murder since the end of the civil war. Both the admiral and his chauffeur were killed. This assassination, as it soon became known, was the work of the Basque terrorist organisation the ETA.[22]

Franco would have preferred as the next prime minister his old friend from El Ferrol, Admiral Nieto Antúnez, an investor in Barreiros Diesel over many years, but the admiral was seventy-six years old. Franco realised that such a nomination would be a mistake.[23] The next candidate was the then acting prime minister,

the minister for "the Movement," Torcuato Fernández-Miranda. But the old guard of Falangists and Franco himself thought that "Don Torcuato" had already given power to too many young people "who were either socialists or of another doubtful background."[24] So the Council of the Realm in the end voted for Carlos Arias Navarro, who had been mayor of Madrid before being minister of the interior. He was the favourite candidate of Doña Carmen Franco, who in these days had a definite political influence. Arias is said to have told General Franco: "Excellency, this is a task too important for my poor qualities." Franco is supposed to have answered: "Loyalty is enough."[25] Pío Cabanillas, Eduardo's friend and one-time lawyer, became minister for information and tourism. He thought that Don Juan Carlos should be crowned king immediately. His director-general of popular culture was the historian and biographer of Franco, Ricardo de la Cierva, who shortly gave permission for my own long-condemned history of the civil war to be published. In February 1974, Carlos Arias Navarro made a speech promising change, and henceforth those who hoped for movement in politics would refer lovingly to the "spirit of February 12," as if it had been an ideological turning point.

Eduardo's views on these political changes in Spain in the 1970s are surprisingly hard to reconstruct. He clearly liked to live in a regime of order. Had not Goethe said that injustice is better than disorder? In politics, he would sometimes say to his secretary, María Pilar Fusi, apropos of some idea of his own, "You would not understand because you are a democrat." Like all his generation, he thought that "democracy led to disorder."[26] He could of course remember the chaotic Spain of the years before 1936.[27] The bomb of the ETA in September 1974 that killed so many in the Café California in the Calle Goya in Madrid appalled him. Eduardo was disillusioned with Cabanillas, in the mid-1970s, the self-proclaimed herald of political change, the politician at that time most outspoken about the need for a transition.

In consequence, Eduardo maintained his usual policy of not commenting on politics and busied himself with more pressing matters, as he saw them, such as the sale of Charolais to Poland, a country that he had come to know because of his exports of engines there in the 1960s. Then Cabanillas was dismissed from his ministry because of his alleged tolerance of pornography and he went back to be president of CEFI—for Eduardo a fatal return to business, as will soon be seen.

In October 1975, Franco fell ill again.

The general left El Pardo for the last time for a clinic in Madrid, and he died on November 20, 1975. Prince Juan Carlos was proclaimed king. The general's last journey, like that in different circumstances of Admiral Carrero Blanco, was

in a car inspired by Eduardo: in the general's case, a Simca 1200 that had been converted into an ambulance.

A week or so later, at the end of November 1975, Eduardo and Dorinda were invited to the Royal Palace in Madrid to a reception marking the proclamation of Juan Carlos as king. All the surviving ministers of Franco's regime were present, headed by Serrano Suñer. The invitation, specifying that "morning coat or gala uniform" should be worn, had been signed by the head of the king's household, the Marqués de Mondéjar, the father-in-law of Valeriano, Eduardo's brother. For a moment the new regime seemed a continuation of the old one; the *cacerías* and *monterías* in the Pardo would surely continue with the king as host.

But King Juan Carlos had a clear picture of what he wanted in Spain and that he would pursue with single-minded determination: a constitutional monarchy. He hoped for a peaceful transition but it had to be a transition. To help this, he apparently suggested that Eduardo might become mayor of Madrid: a task that he would surely have carried out, had he accepted it, in an original and effective way. But he refused. He was not a politician and did not want to become one.[28]

The process of change soon became unstoppable. In December 1976, 17,600,000 Spaniards voted for a new political life, and in June 1977, the brave Adolfo Suárez won the first democratic election after the death of the generalísimo. The "Movement" was abolished by King Juan Carlos in April 1977 and a new constitution was prepared. A one-time Falangista of Corunna, José Luis Mariño, complained, "I never believed that the suicide of the regime was going to happen. I never thought that old friends of mine from within the Movement would spit on Franco's body as soon as he had died." Probably he was referring to Adolfo Suárez, who had used to summer in Corunna in the 1960s.[29]

Eduardo was not completely at ease in these new circumstances. In 1977, in the first free election in Spain since 1936, he surely voted for the "Seven Magnificents," a group of ex-ministers that included his Gallego friend Manuel Fraga. It is true that his own sometime legal adviser, Íñigo Cavero, joined the government of Adolfo Suárez as minister for education; a clever Cuban associate, Estela Domínguez, once said, "Eduardo liked the idea of monarchy and considered the change of regime in Spain 'necessary.'"[30] But Manuel Fraga remembers that at a dinner in the palace of the Marqueses de Santa Cruz, ex-ambassadors in London, Eduardo was, at the *sobremesa*, full of anxiety at the pace of change.[31] Carlos Rein thought that Eduardo was "profoundly pro-Franco and didn't really like the new regime at all."[32] He even began to consider going to another coun-

try and doing there what he had earlier accomplished well in Spain. After all, more than five years had passed since he had left Barreiros Diesel, so he was now free to become manufacturer of automobiles once more.

But another storm was brewing. Many of the details of CEFI's finances had been neglected by its president, Cabanillas, in the early years. His successor, Eduardo himself, had concentrated on other matters (the finca, for example), leaving much of the necessary work to the vice president, "Paco" Chaves. Perhaps Eduardo's new financial advisers were indeed less confident than Valeriano had been in the past. After many alarms (on one occasion Eduardo had been constrained to make a personal loan of 544 million pesetas to CEFI), on September 19, 1980, the company was required to present a "suspension of payments." The following week, on September 23, Eduardo did the same, fearing lest the banks would close in on him for all CEFI's debts. After all, he remained until the end the largest investor in CEFI and had been its president since 1974. This was, as can be well imagined, what a reporter in *El País* would call a "bomb in the little world of economics."[33]

On September 28, 1980, Eduardo wrote to old friends and collaborators such as Andrés Martínez Bordiú and Lucio Mariscal, explaining why this dramatic step had been necessary, placing the blame squarely on CEFI. Here he spoke of himself as owing 1,000 million pesetas.[34] In fact, the liabilities were more: 1,321 million pesetas, according to the declaration of September 22 in the court.[35]

His chief creditor was Cesáreo Sánchez Alonso, his partner in the Penouta mine and an Orensano, and himself a director of CEFI. He was owed about 900 million pesetas.

Other major creditors were Vicente Pérez López (the wife of "Caito" Martín Esperanza, whose son Ricardo also had been a director of CEFI from 1975 to 1976 and again after 1977), who was owed 74.8 million pesetas; Francisco Blanco Estévez, a Gallego vet who had worked at Puerto Vallehermoso and who was owed at least 4.5 million pesetas; and Antonio Castillo Rodríguez, a Gallego friend of Domingo Fernández and Antonio Iglesias who was owed just one million pesetas. Even Eduardo's father-in law, Camilo Ramos Ramos, was owed 1.2 million pesetas.[36] Another creditor was the self-same Chaves who had been a vice president of the undertaking.

Among other creditors of CEFI in 1980, there were also numerous banks.[37] There were also many small debts. The combination of banks affected, as well as the great range of Eduardo's interests, with Cajas de Ahorros and the presence of famous financiers (Ruiz de Velasco, and MacCrohon, as well as Andrés Martínez Bordiú and Martín Esperanza) on CEFI's board, made the collapse

seem sensational. Eduardo's personal debts included BANESTO (185 million pesetas), Fomento (223 million), and Hispano Americano (195 million).

At that time Eduardo's total assets, of about 1,938 million pesetas, were considerably larger than his liabilities, 700 million pesetas larger, in fact, though most of these assets were in property (from apartments in Vigo to garages in Madrid) and other possessions that would take some time to realise.[38] Thus what occurred in respect of Eduardo was a "suspension of payments," not a bankruptcy.

Eduardo settled with his debtors beginning with Cesáreo Sánchez Alonso by handing over a remarkable collection of objects and properties.[39]

Eduardo thereby lost the greater part of his fortune including the finca at Puerto Vallehermoso, which he had come to love: about 5,000 million pesetas (say $60 million) in all, as he himself said once. This finca was sold to a German finance company that sold sausages and ham. The accomplished Bavarian statesman Franz Joseph Strauss was a partner.

Of course there was press comment, much of it hostile. The press loves a disaster, especially if it affects the hero of a previous generation. Thus *Actualidad Económica* dedicated to Eduardo its cover of October 9, 1980, proclaiming "The Defeat of Eduardo Barreiros." The article inside the journal argued that Barreiros seemed to be unable to survive in a world of real free enterprise, "when the corridors of the ministries are not what they were."[40] This was a suggestion that Eduardo had benefited greatly from the closed system of Franco's regime; a commentary that, as the readers of this book will have understood, had no basis in fact. Indeed, as those readers will know, he had been constantly obstructed by men in the passages of the ministries and especially by INI. The *revista Magazin* carried an article by Ernesto Grasa entitled "The Fallen Idol." To a journalist, J. Ibáñez of *La Vanguardia*, Eduardo later said, "I lost many millions. The collapse was due to bad management and the circumstances of life. I lost about five million pesetas. But it was worth it because of what I learned. It was a terrible shock but I survived it without a heart attack."[41]

A tragic coincidence was that at much the same time as the apparent ruin of Eduardo, his old friend Caito Martín Esperanza was accused of having mismanaged the Caja de Ahorros in Orense during his long period as its president. *El Periódico* of Barcelona did not overlook that "Caito" had in 1967 as a present from Eduardo received the first Dodge to leave the sheds of Villaverde.[42]

Eduardo's daughter, Mariluz, then aged twenty-seven, and who in 1976 had married an architect, Alberto Comenge, said later of the bankruptcy, "For my father it was a tremendous shock, not only because of the economic losses but for

what it meant to his prestige. Although he never told his family about his preoccupations, problems, and setbacks, on this occasion we did observe, although he sought to hide it, a great sadness."[43]

Mariluz had grown up beautiful, intelligent, confident, and possessed of savoir faire. To many people she seemed the incarnation of her father, someone who seemed at ease in every kind of company. She had already had one child in May 1977 and was expecting another. One side of her character can be grasped by reading a letter that she wrote from London to her parents when learning English in April 1974, asking her mother, Dorinda, to write to her: "Do me the favour not to be vague!"[44] Her success in life was a sad contrast to her permanently ill brother, Eduardo-Javier, who had still always to be attended by people concerned for his care.

Eduardo's loyal secretary, María Pilar Fusi, commented about Eduardo: "At the time of the suspension of payments . . . I never heard a single remark, not a word as to whom he thought was responsible for the failure. On the contrary, he assured me that, since he was president of CEFI, it was he who should take all the blame."[45] This was thus yet another dark moment in Eduardo's life.

But help was at hand, from a most unexpected quarter: Cuba.

Book VII

Cuba

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Don Eduardo in the Land of Comrades

What I did in Spain, I can repeat.

—*Eduardo Barreiros, c. 1980*

Eduardo's "suspension of payments" in 1980 was his second serious defeat—the first being the conclusion of his bruising battle with Chrysler in 1969. He began for the first time in his life to consider leaving Spain. When asked later by a journalist whether his financial problems had played any part in his decision to contemplate such a change, he avoided the question. In that avoidance, he must have been suggesting that his desire for a new zone of activity was indeed influenced by the setback. Yet three years before that, in 1977, Eduardo had already offered his services to the government of Saudi Arabia.

He then wrote: "I am 58, in good health and, since eight years ago I sold the company, every day I think of how I could return to the world in which I am happiest, that of automobiles. Saudi Arabia in three years could be self-sufficient in large and small industrial vehicles. . . . To preside over this change in Saudi Arabia would have many benefits for the country, the most important being the formation of an industrial mentality. I could undertake to dedicate myself for ten years to carry out this task. What I did in Spain I can repeat," he insisted.[1] But Riyadh was silent, and nothing transpired.

An old friend of Eduardo's and a past director of several of Eduardo's dependent companies (David Brown gear boxes, Ratcliffe-Barreiros, and also MOSA), "Mike" Stilianopoulos, now Philippine ambassador to London, then tried to interest his own president Marcos in Eduardo's ventures. Eduardo and Stilianopoulos went to Manila together. But Eduardo resisted the idea of paying a

commission to Marcos himself for an opening, and so again there was nothing forthcoming.[2]

Then, in December 1977, Eduardo met in Madrid the sophisticated Communist who was then vice president of the Cuban government, Carlos Rafael Rodríguez.

"Carlos Rafael," as he was known to almost everyone, even his enemies, was a fascinating individual. Even anti-Communists enjoyed his company. He, like so many others in the life of Eduardo, was a Gallego in origin, since his father came from Ribadeo in Lugo, on the border with Asturias. He achieved a "relative prosperity" in Cienfuegos, Cuba, with a shoe business. His mother came from a traditional family in that city, the Rodríguez Morini, who, even if they did not have a fortune, were connected with all the grand local families. Carlos Rafael, like Castro himself, went to a Jesuit school as well as one run by Marists.[3]

He had joined the Communist party in the 1930s when in his twenties. In 1933, he was already a very youthful mayor of his city. He became known as the most cultivated Communist of his time. When in the course of the second world war his party decided to support Batista's government,[4] they were invited into the cabinet, and at the age of thirty-one, Rodríguez, with the writer Juan Marinello, became ministers without portfolio. The party changed its name and issued some astounding statements. The secretary-general, Blas Roca, for instance, blithely remarked: "The imperialist age is over."[5]

Out of office in the late 1940s and editor of the Communist paper *Hoy*, Carlos Rafael became known as the party's senior economist but also as an open-minded man. He lived like a member of the Havana bourgeoisie. It seems most improbable that he and his colleagues expected ever to enter a Communist government in Cuba. But all the same, Carlos Rafael was the one party leader to go up to meet the new radical Fidel Castro in the mountains, about six months before the latter's victory over Batista, by then a dictator, at the end of 1958. He was afterwards the strongest voice in support of a Communist alliance with Castro's movement. In consequence, in 1962 Castro gave him the decisive post of president of the Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA). Unlike most of the other old Communists, Carlos Rafael retained his influence in the new regime. He became vice president of Cuba and was often the persuasive spokesman of his country abroad.[6] He frequently stopped in Madrid on the way to Moscow or to Rome, where he went for the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). After 1971, he had another reason for going to Spain since his daughter, Annabelle, had broken with the regime in Cuba and had gone to live, and marry, in Madrid; relations between father and daughter continued, even if their politics differed.

The cultivated Cuban ambassador in Madrid in December 1977, Carlos Al-

faras, invited Eduardo to his embassy to a reception in honour of Carlos Rafael.[7] The propaganda film *Barreiros 1966* was shown. This invitation to Eduardo must have been deliberate. The vice president of Cuba had begun to think that his dead colleague, the legendary Ernesto "Che" Guevara, had been right to say that a country is not fully independent unless it has a motor industry. There had been, too, a political decision: the Fifth Party congress of the new Communist party of Cuba had decided that Cuba needed a motor industry. In consequence, Cuba in 1969 set on foot a workshop that produced the bodies of trucks; though this was the simplest part of the manufacture concerned, it was responsible for 30 percent or 40 percent of the cost. The other parts of the vehicle were found by foreign firms contracted to do the work. Recently, the Cuban government had asked Lloyd's of London to recommend a company that might make motors in Cuba: Eduardo's had been one of the names suggested by them.[8] Barreiros Diesel had, after all, been a client of Lloyd's from 1960 or so. That had enabled them to obtain a Lloyd's certificate for their marine motors and other products.

Cuba in the late 1970s was one of the least free states in the archipelago of closed Communist societies. But there had recently been a small concession to the world of enterprise. After 1976, private persons in Cuba were allowed to offer their services on an individual basis in Cuba as electricians, plumbers, hairdressers, or motor mechanics. In 1980, private farmers' markets and housebuilders had also been permitted. In the spirit of this transformation, Carlos Rafael, on behalf of his government, invited Eduardo to go to Cuba.

Carlos Rafael apparently said to him, "You ought to come to Cuba and you can preside over the same kind of development that you inspired in Spain."[9] Eduardo accepted, travelling in the company of Javier González Gurriarán, an Orensano lawyer who had come to work with him after being an assistant to Íñigo Cavero. (González Gurriarán had known Eduardo all his life since he was a son of that director of the Banco Pastor who, living in Parada del Sil in the 1940s, had used to take Eduardo's family bus from his home to Orense, where he ran the branch of the bank there.)

Eduardo had had an affection for Cuba since that country in the 1960s had agreed to buy a thousand lorries from Barreiros Diesel. Few had actually been sent before Chrysler had obtained its majority shareholding in 1967 and caused the company to close down the operation: "the Chrysler people" had shown themselves loyal Americans before they were businessmen. But both Eduardo and the Cubans remembered.

In the nineteenth century, Cuban money had been the foundation for many a Spanish fortune. Who in Madrid had forgotten such men as Antonio Pérez, Juan Manuel de Manzanedo, and Julián de Zulueta, princes of nineteenth-century fi-

nance? An uncle of Eduardo, an elder brother of his father, had died in Cuba in 1898, though of a disease, not in the war of that year. Many Gallegos had emigrated to Cuba over several generations. They had raised in Havana one of its most astonishing buildings, the Centro Gallego, designed by Paul Belau and Rodolfo Maruri, and opened in 1914 to honour the emigrants there.[10] One of those Cuban emigrants had been Fidel Castro's father, Angel Castro, who after leaving the tiny pueblo of Láncara in Lugo became a substantial farmer in the east of the country; another had been the parents of Lina Ruz, Castro's mother.

Eduardo reached Havana in March 1978.[11] He and González Gurriarán were lodged in a government guest house in Cubanacán,[12] one of those attractive buildings confiscated from a "gusano," or right-wing exile, that were used in Communist countries to lodge (or control) all kinds of visitors, both friends and possible enemies. They were received by Carlos Rafael, who in *guayabera*, at a smart restaurant, La Torre, introduced them to Lester Rodríguez, the minister of SIME (Ministerio de la Industria Sidero-Mecánica), an economist who had played a part in the struggle against Batista and had accompanied Castro in the attack on the Moncada barracks in 1953; to Irma Sánchez, "Ministra-Presidente" of supply; and a sub-secretary of his own, an engineer, Luis Gutiérrez.

Another important new acquaintance was Marcos Lage, at that time a vice minister of SIME but also an ex-minister of sugar, a Cuban whose grandparents were Gallegos. He knew about Eduardo because his father, a truck driver, used to read the *Revista de Mecánica Popular*. He later became a close friend of Eduardo as well as a colleague but, to begin with, he thought that any motor industry in Cuba would be impossible to achieve.[13]

Eduardo and González Gurriarán travelled all over Cuba by car and air, accompanied by a diplomatic host, Orlando Rodríguez, to see what kind of support industries there were for an undertaking concerned to make motors. They also saw the old house where Castro and his brothers had been brought up in Oriente, and they had fifteen ceremonial minutes with Castro at the end of their stay. Their joint Gallego origins smoothed the path of understanding, as it usually did between Gallegos. Also helpful were the presents of two sporting rifles that Eduardo had brought for Castro from Spain.

With his usual impatience, Eduardo told Carlos Rafael Rodríguez that he would like to begin to work in Cuba immediately. The sage Communist smiled: "In a controlled economy, one has to do everything slowly," he said.[14] So Eduardo returned to Spain and waited. He wrote an enthusiastic letter to Castro saying that he would be very happy to contribute to the "automobilistic development of his young but dynamic country." His ambition would be specifically "to make in Cuba an entirely Cuban motor."[15] He also set about preparing a de-

tailed scheme of work in Cuba, which he had ready by April 6.[16] He seemed to have no anxiety about working in a society that was more closed than Franco's had been in its bleakest era of autarchy.

He accepted to do this because it seemed a way of returning, and on a large scale from the beginning, to the work that he liked best and in respect of which he was "the master." The fact that Cuba was a Communist state would make his task more difficult because of its bureaucracy and its narrow ideology. But to compensate for that, he had the backing of important ministers such as Carlos Rafael Rodríguez and indeed of Castro.

Eduardo would be working in Cuba on behalf of a Communist regime. Several old associates of his in Spain could not understand this new arrangement of his, which did not seem to him to be an obstacle as such to his endeavours. He saw himself as an artist who has to accept commissions from all kinds of patrons, as if he had been Benvenuto Cellini waiting for an encouraging word from Pope Adrian VI. He had proved, to his own satisfaction at least, that private enterprise could flourish, even if shackled, in an autarchic regime. He would now try to show that in Cuba, a mixed economy could also be made to function. He had no ideology. He was a practical man in whose actions others might detect a philosophy. Cecilio González, who was allocated to work with Eduardo by Marcos Lage, who eventually managed Eduardo's Cuban factory (and who later became a fine example of the mixed economy as president of TRANBUSS), remarked: "At first it came as a great surprise that Don Eduardo should come to Cuba, but later I learned from him that the philosophy of the revolution could not affect his standing as a great master."[17]

The ministry with which Eduardo would work was SIME (Sideromecánica). This ministry had been founded in 1974 under the aegis of Carlos Rafael, but in the late 1970s the minister was Lester Rodríguez. SIME in the 1970s and 1980s was an essential part of the Cuban government, and its staff included men and women whose preoccupation with the spirit of the revolution made rational conversation with them difficult. Among these was Irma Sánchez, the vice minister of CEATM (Comité Estatal de Abastecimíento técnico material) who was concerned with imports and who was at the beginning critical of the idea of giving Eduardo the opening he wanted.

Eduardo did not have to wait long, at least by Communist standards, for a return visit to Madrid from his new Cuban friends. These were Luis Gutiérrez, the representative of Carlos Rafael, and also Gómez Trueba, who came on behalf of SIME. They arrived in April 1979. Their purpose was to investigate Eduardo's possibilities. They stayed for two weeks "in a small hotel in the Calle Princesa" where they were later joined by Lester Rodríguez.[18] Eduardo had prepared for

the visit by writing a memorandum entitled "On an industrial undertaking for the manufacture of motors in Guanajay," Guanajay being a small town in the province of Pinar del Río in west Cuba, where there was already an assembly plant of the Spanish company ENASA, once INI's most important protégé. The memo suggested that in Cuba he could soon be making 12,000 motors a year.[19]

Luis Gutiérrez later commented: "At that time, Eduardo had many ideas in his head. He was looking for new opportunities. He had nothing in the way of a secretarial staff. But he was still on good terms with his ex-collaborators of the 1960s. We gained the impression that he really could make motors in Cuba."[20]

The Cubans went home and, in the meantime, Eduardo designed a prototype of a motor that he thought would be right for Cuba. This would have six cylinders and about 200 horsepower. It was successfully tested in the JAL (José Antonio López) workshops in Madrid—which had been a onetime supplier of Barreiros Diesel. When the appropriate level of power was reached, an official test was carried out at the Escuela Técnica Superior de Ingenieros Industriales in Madrid, under the supervision of Professor Manuel Muñoz Torralbo. Shortly after, Eduardo bought two sheds, 2,000 square yards large, in an industrial estate at Pinto outside Madrid.[21]

Not long after that, Eduardo telephoned some of the survivors from what both he and they thought of as the golden days in Villaverde and, Juan Gayá said, "he arranged to show us the motor which was by then in the shed in Pinto."[22]

In Cuba there were doubts as to whether a man such as Eduardo could work satisfactorily in a Communist state. There were also some questions about the costs, including Eduardo's own payments. The latter were resolved by Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, presumably with support from Castro.[23] There remained uncertainty whether all the different objects necessary for a motor industry could be assembled in Cuba. Luis Gutiérrez arranged that. In the process, he became not just a collaborator but a close personal friend of Eduardo's.

All the same, further delays ensued: for example, the question was raised whether the motors that Eduardo planned could be adapted for use in cane cutters. Carlos Rafael wrote to "Comrade Barreiros" on May 2, 1979, describing the characteristics needed for such a machine. Eduardo replied that a motor of six cylinders could perform the necessary task perfectly.[24]

That touched on an important matter. The sugar harvest that had always been so important in the economy of Cuba had been carried through by hand until the 1950s. That had been the explanation for the large black slave labour force that had given the island its riches as well as its dominating position in the world of sugar in the nineteenth century. Then the last substantial capitalist sugar "king," Julio Lobo, a man of immense wealth, had in the 1950s sought to import

a cane cutter from Louisiana to show how much labour could be saved by mechanisation. The entry of that machine had been opposed by the sugar cane cutters union as if it were an illegal immigrant, and the dock union, in loyalty to them, refused to disembark it. It remained in a warehouse for five years.[25]

After the revolution in 1959, all such uncertainties vanished. Trade unions became essentially converted into civil servants, machine cane cutters were imported or devised, and the old sugar workers gradually retired.

Eduardo's answers to all questions, especially those about the suitability of his machines for the canefields, were swift. But the delays in Cuba continued. Some in Cuba thought that Eduardo represented overmuch the spirit of loathsome capitalism. Others thought that they should not employ someone whom they believed to be a Francoist. Others in contrast argued that an established motor manufacturer from northern Europe should be hired for Cuba. Others still believed that if the proposed arrangement went ahead, Eduardo would make too much money. On March 17, 1980, Eduardo wrote again to Carlos Rafael saying that if the Cubans were to deal with "international firms," such as Mercedes-Benz (which had been mentioned as a possible alternative to himself), they would never achieve a purely Cuban motor such as he was proposing.

Ten days later, on March 27, 1980 (still six months before his "suspension of payments," discussed in the last chapter), Eduardo established a new firm, DIMISA (Diesel Motores Industriales S.A.), with a headquarters in Eduardo's office at María de Molina 1 in Madrid. The company had its industrial branch in Pinto, a little town known for a castle where Philip II imprisoned the Princess of Eboli, some twelve miles south of Madrid on the road to Andalusia—only a few miles south of Villaverde. This latter establishment was already able to count on two large rectangular sheds, each 1,000 square metres in size and to each there would be attached offices of about 100 square metres. Eduardo's initial plan was to make there "model motors" of six and eight cylinders in a V shape whose first prototype of six cylinders would be of 190 horsepower. Eduardo thought at first of making earthmovers, but in the end he decided to manufacture instead a development of the diesel motor whose range varied from 130 to 500 horsepower.[26]

Yet another Cuban delegation came to Madrid soon after the foundation of DIMISA. This was headed by Ignacio González Planas, another vice minister of SIME (in his youth he had been a member of José Antonio Echevarría's Federación Universitaria Estudiantil and had taken part in a famous attack on the presidential palace in Havana in 1957). He was a large-hearted and large-minded individual who carried his ideological baggage lightly. He visited the "laboratory" in Pinto and dined with Eduardo in old Madrid. He thought that Eduardo in 1980 had nostalgia for his old days at Villaverde and genuinely saw in Cuba

a possibility of reviving them. He also believed that Eduardo was probably anxious to make some kind of challenge to the United States because of the way that Chrysler had behaved towards him.[27]

That was an interpretation of Eduardo's conduct insisted on by many of his friends. Juan Luis Cebrián, for example, who had interviewed Eduardo for *Informaciones* on the finca in the 1970s and was in the 1980s the managing director of the new newspaper *El País* (in which, it will be recalled, Eduardo had invested 300,000 pesetas, on the request of Manuel Fraga). Cebrián thought that "Eduardo's Cuban period owed everything to the fact that he had been obliged to sell Villaverde to Chrysler."[28] Abel Sardiña, of the Cuban news agency, *Prensa Latina*, said much the same in the French version of the Cuban newspaper *Granma* in November 1989: "*Barreiros prend sa revanche sur un ennemi commun.*" Annabelle, daughter of Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, agreed: she considered that Eduardo had had a "gran decepción" because he had had to surrender his fábrica to the Americans. It was not the whole story of his adventure in Cuba but part of it.[29] An assistant to Eduardo in Cuba, Estela Domínguez, a woman of good judgement, said, "Yes, I suppose he was furious with the Americans [rabioso contra los americanos]." She spoke of him as a man with "scars." Rafael Vélez, head of the Instituto de Desarrollo Automotriz in Havana, thought that the anger caused him by Chrysler had an effect on Eduardo's decision to come to Cuba.[30]

But there are other views. Thus Pedro Seco, a Castilian engineer who worked with him in Cuba, thought that Eduardo was more bitter against the Spanish government for not helping him in the late 1960s than against the Americans. Marcos Lage did not think that Eduardo was affected by any anger in respect of the United States, for "he was not the man to nurse grievances."[31] Julián Merino, who had been with Eduardo in Villaverde and went to Cuba to plan his factory, agreed. He had not even been very critical of Pegaso! Cecilio González thought that Eduardo respected American achievements but was distressed by what he called the bad manners of the people at Chrysler towards him. But, unlike Cebrián, González did not think that that was an important reason for Eduardo agreeing to go to Cuba.[32] José Corona, an adviser of SIME in 1983 and later vice minister of economics, also disagreed with Cebrián's thesis.[33]

Of the final stages of his negotiations between himself and the Cuban government, Eduardo commented: "Fortunately everything has been worked out well. We agreed."[34]

Eduardo estimated that two and a half years after he began to work in earnest, Cuban participation in his product would be 60 percent, another 10 percent would be reached the next year, again 10 percent the year after that, so that in the

fourth year of his endeavours, his engine would be 90 percent Cuban-made, leaving only one or two small things to be made in Spain such as injection pumps, which could not be manufactured locally.[35]

Negotiations with Cuba were concluded in 1981. A contract was exchanged. Bernardo Cremades, a lawyer of Madrid who specialised in international law and arbitration, recalled, "One day when I was in Washington, Eduardo called me and said 'I have to go to Cuba, would you go down there too and meet me in Havana?'" Cremades did so, having to fly via Canada. To begin with, he had the impression that the Cuban government was foolish to try to persuade Eduardo to work for them. But personal friendships soon grew. The two of them were put up in another governmental guest house and entertained lavishly. Cremades drew up a contract for Eduardo that was the basis of the understanding between him and Cuba, though the text was also afterwards worked on by "Paco" Chaves. For Eduardo, it was a chance (as he saw it) of "a new youth." His desire then was to "return to begin."[36]

He would, of course, be paid well: $800,000 a year "during the years that you think that it is necessary and possible to help us." Of this, $500,000 would be paid in any way that Eduardo wanted, either month by month or by year. The other $300,000 would be paid three years later: thus the $300,000 due for 1984 would be paid on January 1, 1988, and the other such payments would be paid at that date on the next year, and so on. First he was paid $5 million in Swiss francs in December 1980 for the one hundred motors that he made available to Cuba.[37] All Eduardo's costs in Cuba would henceforth be settled by himself. The diplomats' special shops would be at Eduardo's service and he would be allowed to import everything that he wanted.[38]

The contract specified, first and foremost, Eduardo's task as being to instal in Cuba everything necessary to carry forward the project of the "manufacture of motors." The range of motors concerned would be, in succession, six, eight, ten, and twelve cylinders and they were intended initially for lorries, "trains," and buses; later, there would also be industrial and marine versions.

Special attention would be paid to personnel. Both sides would study the agricultural versions of these motors to achieve cane cutters for the sugar harvest. (The motors previously used had been Australian, with engines from Mercedes-Benz.)

Summarised later by Antonio Guisasola, a Madrileño who had been a sub-director at Villaverde in the last stages of Eduardo's time there, the contract between Eduardo and DIMISA and the Cuban government (or, rather, SIME) had as a basis the idea that Eduardo himself should be concerned in the creation of the principal industries that would lead to various "motores Diesel" with dif-

ferent cylinders between six and twelve horsepower, under the name of Taíno-EB. By making everything in Cuba, it would be possible to avoid paying commissions or royalties to any foreign company.

"Taíno" was the name of the inhabitants of Cuba before the coming of Columbus, but no indigenous point seems to have been intended by the nomenclature—except, perhaps, that it was a word that few in North America knew. Eduardo was also to be concerned in the possible dieselisation of the existing ZIL lorries in Cuba. That would lead to other industrial activity, and would be a process of "Cubanisation" that seemed to several in Cuba, though perhaps not to Castro, nor even to Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, to make possible an eventual Cuban escape from Soviet tutelage.

The minister, Ignacio González Planas, once remarked: "Eduardo was not interested in politics. One has to accept that sometimes things are like that."[39] But people of the industrial achievements of Eduardo have a political impact, even if they do not plan it. So it had been with Eduardo in Spain. Though he had fought for the nationalists under the overall command of General Franco and knew him privately, he had been an agent for change in the regime. Now it would be the same in Cuba. Immediately after he arrived in Havana to work in 1982 he became an influence for the de-Sovietisation of the economy.

35

Villaverde Revisited

Because he is not from here. He comes from a long way off. Men from here are not capable of this.
[Porque no es de aquí, es de muy lejos. . . . Los hombres de aquí no son capaces de esto.]

—*García Lorca*, La Casa de Bernarda Alba

Eduardo went to live in Havana in 1982, at first in one of the agreeable government guest houses (a *casa de protocolo*) that he had come to know; later, in a suite on the tenth floor of the Hotel Habana Libre, once, briefly, when it was opened in 1958, the "Havana Hilton," in the centre of the splendid quarter of El Vedado. Dorinda went with him to begin with, and Mariluz too sometimes on holiday, with her two small children. Eduardo in Madrid retained his flat in María de Molina, on the four floors of which he had his family,[1] offices, and secretaries. In reality, he lived between the two cities. Sometimes he would go with Dorinda to parties in Madrid offered by King Juan Carlos[2] and be on the plane next day to Havana.

A picture of Eduardo precisely "*a caballo*" between Havana and Madrid, can be found in the diary for November 1984 of Manuel Fraga, who was travelling to Costa Rica via Havana. He found Eduardo next to him on the aeroplane: "surrounded by papers and projects. . . . He was trying to establish there a motor factory. . . . I have the impression that the results show that the social and economic milieu is not the most appropriate for a creative genius such as he is."[3] Always when he returned to Havana he would come laden with suitcases and parcels full of presents for his Cuban friends—whisky, spectacles, stockings, medicines, fruit, grapes, and, of course, spare parts for vehicles.[4]

After a while, Dorinda realised that she could not live indefinitely in a hotel in Havana. Her mind remained, even when she was in Cuba, concentrated on her son, Eduardo-Javier. He still needed help all the time. Dorinda did not want to leave him alone in Madrid. She also contracted a most disagreeable influenza. So it was not surprising that she did not return to Havana after 1985.

The absence of his close family distressed Eduardo and made him lonely even though he returned to Madrid about once a month. He came to know too well the melancholy of the hotel room, the cold dawns on the terrace, the isolation of the airport lounge. In the end, however, he made many friends in Cuba. He would often lunch on Sundays at the lovely open-air restaurant Cecilia, on the way out of Havana to the west, with Luis Gutiérrez and his family. Estela Domínguez, his Cuban *asesora*, and Cecilio González, who was the director of the factory in Cuba, became friends as much as collaborators.[5] The magnetic Diocles Torralba González, minister of transport in Cuba in the late 1980s, also became a close friend. Another friend was the nurse Marisella Dueñas. Marta González, Eduardo's secretary, was also devoted to him.

All these men and women are still (as of 2008) in the prime of their lives and many have careers ahead of them in the still half-closed world of modern Cuba, so it would be inappropriate to dwell on them and their activity. The country remains a closed society. It is, therefore, impossible to write about Eduardo's associates of those years with a free conscience.

After a while, Eduardo was permitted by the Cuban government to buy a house in Vedado in Havana. This was a fine, spacious building, big enough for it later to be converted into the restaurant (*palarder*) that it now is. This was managed in his stays in Cuba by Maricella Dueñas, whose brother became one of Eduardo's chauffeurs. When in Cuba Eduardo treated Marisella's two daughters as if they were his own.

Eduardo was meantime allocated by SIME a factory to the east of the city beyond the port and known recently as Amistad Cubano-Soviética (Eduardo always referred to it as "Amistad"). It had, before 1959, been the home of the Ámbar Motores Corporation, which had used to distribute in Cuba the cars, the lorries, and the buses of General Motors.[6] The work performed there before 1984 had been primarily the repair of the robust Soviet Zil motors.

In this factory, Eduardo re-created his splendid life in Villaverde, Madrid. He would begin his day with a walk around his new plant with his springy step, just as he had done in Spain in the old days. He showed the same care for his workers and their families as he had shown in Spain. He always had an ambulance to go

to the home of anyone who was absent. Once, one of his workers was sad when his wife died: Eduardo helped his children and ensured that they went to a technical school.

Marta González was Eduardo's secretary in this new fábrica. She had no difficulty in adapting to the work with him. "He always treated everyone very well," she recalled. "He would arrive at 5:30–5:45 in the morning, quite often being alone until the fábrica opened at 7:30. He taught people not just to work, but to *produce*. He himself adapted quickly to the Caribbean, to the Cubans. He wanted, as ever, money, yes, but to invest in his works, not just as dividends. No one went to his office without receiving advice and help."[7]

Marta came to love Eduardo as if he had been her father. There were many others who shared her generous views. She remembered: "He did not eat much, but he drank a lot of coffee. He also liked a 'mango juice.'" Once, she, Marta, had a leg in plaster for seven weeks and every day his chauffeur, Valero Alises, whom he had brought to Cuba from Villarubia de los Ojos, some thirty-five miles from Puerto Vallehermoso, would drive her to the factory, where she and Eduardo would work.

Workers in the fábrica in the year 2001 talked glowingly of Eduardo. He was, it seemed to them, "very professional" but, at the same time, "very human." That was because, they thought, he had himself a strong family. His "manner" was magnificent. He was, first and foremost, a man who taught. He also listened well. He had a remarkable combination of humanity and expertise. He always liked to inspect personally the buses that he had made. As in Villaverde, he was not a man for the office: he was a man for the factory. His selection of people was good. He still had a nose for the right person.

Often when coming to Havana from Spain, and despite the long journey, he would go straight from the airport to the factory, sending on his luggage to the Hotel Habana Libre, a worker recalled. As at Villaverde, he spoke, and thought, of his workers as his family, and they loved him. He always said that private standards of behaviour should be carried into work. "He made it obvious," another survivor remembered, "that he wanted us to copy his capacity for work. He had an astonishing knowledge in detail of everything to do with motors. We worked from 7 A.M. to 8 P.M., with an hour's interruption for lunch, and he had complete confidence in us. Don Eduardo did much to show Cuba how companies could or should be organised. A striking compliment was made to him once by his chauffeur, Valero, who put down his jacket in a puddle to avoid Eduardo's splashing his trousers."[8]

The task of adapting this factory to become a modern plant was, however, "a

very complex problem," wrote Antonio Guisasola.[9] The lighting was bad, the machinery old. But Eduardo transformed it so that in a few months, it seemed one of the best factories in the world.

Another adviser, the psychologist Luis Morente, commented: "The factory was not such in the normal sense of the word. It was more a centre of social labour activities. In it, the important thing was the voluntary element. That was something inherited from [Che] Guevara. People worked for '*la patria*' on Saturday and Sunday. That had nothing to do with making motors. Don Eduardo found that he had to try to educate the people of Cuba. His idea was to play on Cuban patriotism in order to persuade the leaders of the regime to see that it was good as well as possible to make motors, even if some of the parts were made in Spain."[10] Eduardo insisted too on incentives for workers even if that approach seemed to constitute a revived capitalism. Another Spanish mechanic, Manuel Rubio, from Villanueva de los Infantes, said that he found the Cubans "very noble" even if far from scrupulous in their habits of work. Repairs, for example, were made in a slipshod manner.[11]

In order to hasten the necessary manufactures in Spain, Eduardo arranged a new patent to replace what he had lost when Chrysler took over Villaverde: this was for "perfecting internal combustion engines using either petrol or Diesel oil."[12]

Eduardo also brought over to Havana a group of senior Spanish technicians. The assumption was that they would train Cubans in the work and then give up in their favour. Most of these adventurous souls were ex-collaborators of Eduardo at Villaverde. These men would technically be the adviser-directors (*asesores-consejeros*), members of a new body to be called CATDA (Centro de asistencia técnica para el desarollo automotriz; that is, "Centre for technical assistance for the development of the motor industry"). The group would be dependent on SIME and their task would be to select and train personnel. They saw their aim as not to fight "socialism" but to try to establish a system of incentives that could be combined with Cuban Communist practice. This was a complicated task, especially when they had to cope with old prejudices against Spaniards who had played a decisive part in the Cuban economy until the nationalist revolution of 1933. Recalling the latter experience, Castro insisted that all these Spaniards would be known formally as "advisers." No Spaniard was to give explicit orders to Cubans. This imposed a necessity for tact. The factory, though, became known unofficially as "the Centre of Gallegos," and sometimes as "the Barreiros office."

Eduardo had only just started to live in his new country when he suffered a heart attack. He attributed this to "anxieties and depressions" caused by his "sus-

pension of payments." Whatever caused it, he was soon cured in the Cimiecq Clinic in Havana.[13]

A little later, he also lost the sight of an eye. His daughter, Mariluz, and Dorinda went with him to the Eye Clinic at Houston for a major, complicated, but successful operation for cataracts.[14] America had its uses, Eduardo would always afterwards agree, Chrysler apart.

The "Spanish colleagues" were all well paid. The six senior members were paid 213,000 pesetas a month, the others at slightly less high rates, except for Luis Palomino, who was paid more.[15] They began to arrive in April 1984. The chief of the delegation was Antonio Guisasola, an engineer of communications who was five years younger than Eduardo himself.[16] He had in his early days worked on roads in Spain. He had joined Barreiros Diesel in November 1960, and next year he became a sub-director general. In 1966 he went to work in Detroit in the auditorship-general of Chrysler, and, as such, had worked with many Cuban emigrants in the United States. He went in 1974 to the Ministry of Public Works in Madrid, also as a sub-director general. In November 1983, he gave up that post and went to Cuba with Eduardo. When asked why he abandoned a safe job in the civil service for one with Barreiros, he said: "I would go to the end of the world with Don Eduardo if he asked me to."[17] His first work was to choose the engineers and economists to work in CATDA.[18]

Another old Barreiros hand from Spain who went to Cuba was Julián Merino, a Cantabrian who would become coordinator general of technical engineering and director of DIMISA. We met him before when discussing the early days of Barreiros Diesel. He had risen to become director general of manufacturing engineering in Villaverde in November 1965. He remained with Chrysler after the crisis of 1969, and later he moved to Barreiros Hermanos, the company formed by Eduardo's brothers, and worked with Valeriano. There, he had a multitude of obligations. There was the Orense project. There were investigations into tyres: what was best, Michelin or Pirelli? Could there be a Spanish version?

Merino began a new collaboration with Eduardo in his Cuban stage as early as 1978. Eduardo, he could see, thought of Cuba as a place where he could fulfil new dreams. In 1978 and 1979, Merino combined his own work with Eduardo's with activity in Barreiros Hermanos but, from 1980 onwards, he dedicated his time to DIMISA only, on its technical side. He suggested many of the people for Cuba. He also was responsible for all the equipment necessary to bring from Spain and coordinated the collaboration between Madrid and Havana. He supervised, too, the installation of the equipment brought into the factory Amistad Cubano-Soviética. The other advisers were required to report to him.

There also went to Havana Fernando López de la Fuente, a specialist in hy-

draulic presses;[19] Luis de León, an engineer who was a specialist in forging (*forja*) and iron and steel; Pedro Seco, a specialist in quality control; Luis Palomino, a Madrileño who had been a director in the directorate of manufacture in Villaverde in 1966; and later, Manuel Martínez, a specialist in industrial engineering, and Antonio Iglesias, an engineer from Orense, a specialist in both heat treatments and foundry. There was, too, Luis Morente, a specialist in industrial psychology, Marciano Tovar, an expert in foundry, and Manuel Landeras, an engineer specialising in the conservation of machines.

Of these, Pedro Seco, the specialist in quality control, came from Valladolid. He had worked in Pegaso for a time in the 1960s and then with Barreiros and Chrysler under Merino, who suggested that he might like to go to Cuba, which he eventually did. He worked one year in the offices at María de Molina and then Cuba beckoned. He accepted because it seemed an attractive project.

He found Cuba as a society "in poor shape: in the sense of human relations and in matters of motivation." The obstacle was politics. It took such a long time to do anything. No one, he thought, was interested in economic success. There were three grades of seniority among the workers, depending not on their capacities but on the time that they had been in the factory. But Pedro Seco realised that some of the Cubans were highly motivated. A few of them, he thought, were admirable and he would have liked to have employed them in Spain: "We gave lessons every day to Cubans and many of them were quick to learn, including some who had had experience in the USSR. The Cubans liked the Spaniards more than anyone else. The Russians were unpopular and [really] did not seem to figure much." If the United States had invaded Cuba, he did not think that the Russians would have defended them with much enthusiasm. None of those Cubans with whom he worked were men who had been working at all before the revolution of 1959.[20]

Merino thought that the chief problems in Cuba were a lack of discipline, no sense of punctuality, and a proclivity of all workers to absent themselves—hence the ambulance.

Antonio Iglesias was an Orensano from Santa Cruz de Arrabaldo, just to the west of the capital. He had joined Barreiros Diesel in 1955 on the recommendation of his brother-in-law, Eduardo's long-serving friend and employee Domingo Fernández (they had married sisters), and was "chief of a workshop" in 1965. In Cuba, Iglesias became director of the division concerned with heat. According to Fernández Baquero, he was "a boy with a fabulous intelligence and with a desire to learn." In Cuba, his work was to adapt the mechanical characteristics of each type of steel to the right requirements. Like Seco, he did not like Cuba at all.

Finally among the leading Spanish "advisers," there was Luis Morente. In his way, he was the most interesting observer since he was an industrial psychologist working in a country where no such position at that time existed. Though at first expecting to become a priest, he instead began as a consultant on industrial psychology, and as such worked in Villaverde under Renault from 1978 to 1984. He applied to join Eduardo in Cuba the latter year. His contract was for six months but he stayed nine years, on the basis of recurring three-year contracts.

He went to Havana with his wife and his daughter and, to begin with, stayed in the Hotel Habana Libre, as did Eduardo. Then he took a flat in a new block of flats called "Sierra Maestra." He painted his flat outside, thanks to being given some paint from the factory at Guanajay. It seemed in those days to be the only newly painted flat in Havana!

Luis Morente recalled that he often went to ministerial meetings without being invited. Usually these occasions were concerned not with industrial policy, but with drafting declarations expressing hostility to "imperialism." Usually, too, the civil servants were ineffective. The middle-ranking people in between the workers and the leaders had absolutely nothing to do! The most important pressures were political rather than entrepreneurial.

Morente insisted, "Everyone who wanted a job with me had to submit a curriculum. Usually, that turned out to be a political document. It would describe how the person concerned had (say) worked in the illiteracy campaign of 1961, had fought at the Bay of Pigs the same year, and perhaps had been in Angola. But these documents told very little as to how the man concerned had performed in his profession as a technician or in industry."

Morente cited the case of a certain "el Pupi" who had run "Amistad" in the past and who had the reputation of running the best factory in Cuba. Morente visited it. It was true that there was an excellent dining room, there was a fine labour record, there were excellent parties, and the factory won prizes, but it simply did not have any entrepreneurial aims. He found that in another factory, six hundred people were on the payroll but only two hundred could ever be found at the lunch tables!

He found that the "volunteer" in Cuba was considered a much more important person than the "obliged ones." There was too an alliance between the government and the unions, and sometimes other organisations joined the fatal combination, such as the children's federations, or the federations of women. These bodies constituted blocs that prevented effective management. The force was not Communist but bureaucratic. "In Cuba," Luis Morente said, "I didn't meet many Communists; I met more Communists in Spain than I ever did in Cuba."[21]

Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, still vice president, was much affected by what Eduardo and his colleagues told him and with brutal candour said in public, "I am convinced that in industry we must accept the ideas of capitalism because ours, we must accept it, do not work."[22]

In 1985, Eduardo wrote a list of ways as to how he wanted his Spanish colleagues to behave (it was a form of art he practised often, usually as a "decalogue"):

1. We are in Cuba to fulfil an important mission that has been entrusted to me. I believe that it is being a success and I am grateful to everyone who has come, often leaving very good and well paid jobs to do so.
2. If we are as a team on good terms with each other, our success will be total. Mutual collaboration is indispensable and we must be aware of the intelligent suggestions made to us.
3. Each technician must have the character and personality that is appropriate to him. . . .
4. The reports made must be confirmed or revised in our weekly meeting, but if something is urgent a special committee meeting will be summoned. . . .
5. All have the obligation of carrying out the fulfilment of his duty by his actions.
6. One should never discuss anything in a hot-headed way. . . .
7. We must demonstrate harmony, discipline, dynamism, productivity, and never discuss matters negatively with those superior to us.
8. One must realise that sometimes technically one course is best but there are occasionally political or economic reasons that prevent it from being realised.[23]

As for Eduardo himself, in these new Cuban circumstances of the mid-1980s, opinions differ as to his state of mind. He seemed to the engineer, Pedro Seco, to be "happy, with much vitality, both admirable and tireless. He was delighted to be working with motors again and to have around him old friends and colleagues as well as new ones. He was accumulating enough money now to be able to pay off all those to whom he had been indebted because of the suspension of payments and so became economically completely free." In Cuba, as he had been at Villaverde, he was always the "motor of the team." Though "completely unpolitical, he had excellent relations with the Communist leaders."[24]

But Antonio Iglesias from Orense thought that Eduardo was not treated well in Cuba.[25] Luis Morente, more subtly, thought that the Cuban government wanted to use Eduardo to see whether Communism could collaborate with capitalism as it has done in recent years in China. Businesses that were half-private, half-state-controlled (*empresas mixtas*) followed.[26] But there were innumerable

difficulties: first, the government would select personnel to work with Eduardo according to their political position; second, the "second-rank executives" often found themselves being analysed by their subordinates; absenteeism was not denounced and indeed not considered as such; in Pinar del Río, workers had to be allowed off to work in the tobacco harvest; incentives and productivity played no part. The party, the Bank of Cuba, the unions, the provincial government were always intervening; energy supplies were irregular; parts were delivered very slowly; no one cared if supplies deteriorated before delivery; and in 1988, after a hurricane, the factory was flooded. All these things needed Eduardo's continual attention.

In the autumn of 1982, soon after the Socialists won their first elections in Spain,[27] the first prototypes of Eduardo's Cuban motors were ready. They had V-motors, echoing those of MAN[28] and of Mercedes Benz. The Cubans wanted these engines tested before their delivery. That was agreed, the test being a comparative one against a modern motor chosen by the Cubans. They made a pre-selection of Barreiros, Nissan, and Mercedes, but the last name was removed from the list because of Cuba's good relations with East Germany. The Cuban government asked DIMISA (Barreiros) and Nissan to submit their proposals for testing, under the arbitration of Lloyd's, the London insurance company. Both sent prototypes. The tests were severe. The motors of both companies were submitted to a continuous trial of two months between September 24 and November 26, 1982. After some weeks, the Nissan motor began to smoke more than normal and finished "ill," as Pablo Gimeno put it, while Eduardo's engines worked with scarcely any problems except for one or two little adjustments towards the end. That, some Cubans said, showed that they were finished, "*tocado*" (touched in the head). Eduardo asked if he could be allowed to adjust the motor himself, and after less than half an hour's work, the EB-V6 revived, able to work again at full force.[29]

So Eduardo's motor was then declared to have won. It was almost as if the record of the famous test in Portugal of 1957 was being played again. The formal report stated: "The motor Taino suffered less damage and needed less special maintenance than the Nissan."[30]

Eduardo was then asked to undertake direct collaboration with Cuba, not only for motors and vehicles for the Cuban market but for export to South America and the countries of Eastern Europe.

His new factory soon began to make progress. Four hundred machines were bought in Spain, mostly in the Basque country, costing $400 million. Similar Roumanian machines were rejected because they cost $600 million. The first essays in the Fundición Libertad failed and the work was moved to the Narciso

López Roselló factory, named after a Cuban hero of the nineteenth century, in a quarter of Havana known as La Lisa, where Cubans made iron parts such as cylinder heads, cylinder blocks, and fly wheels. In Pinar del Río, in the firm named Partes y Piezas ("Spare Parts and Pieces") about 120 miles west of Havana, components of aluminium were founded. A testing plant was established in Guanajay.[31]

There was another side to these developments: in the fábrica Amistad, the most recent work, as has been said, had been the repair of Russian ZIL motors. Independently of his work on the Taíno, Eduardo suggested that he should "dieselise" the ZIL-130 on an experimental basis. After further discussion, a contract was signed between DIMISA and SIME. It provided that SIME should send three ZIL-130 motors to Eduardo to be studied for adaptation. He believed that the "dieselisation" would take no more than three months and that there would then be tests with drivers who would travel 1,000 kilometres a day for ninety days. SIME would be responsible for the "waste of the pieces."[32]

This programme was carried out, two of the ZIL motors being sent back to Spain for transformation. Returned to Cuba, they and another one, already transformed in Cuba, were put on ZIL lorries and on January 10, 1984, tested against an old ZIL gasoline-using lorry. The test was first to drive from Havana to Matanzas, the nineteenth-century port, just short of Varadero, and once known as "the Athens of the Caribbean." Now the decaying houses gave a memory of elegance without any suggestion of the reality. Under the attentive eye of Marcos Lage, of SIME, and of Eduardo, the dieselised lorries were seen to use 20, 13, and 21.3 litres of gasóleo every 100 kilometres, while the old ZIL, with gasolina, used 34.51 litres.

In consequence, while the factory was being primarily adapted for the manufacture of EB motors, the Tainos, a programme for dieselisation was also embarked upon;[33] and 1983–84 became really "the year of the ZIL."[34]

Afterwards Eduardo transformed 1,000 such lorries in Cuba. These vehicles had in the past used about thirty-five litres of gasolina for a journey that now used only twenty of gasoil, so the government was delighted. Then Eduardo transformed a Volga saloon car 2,200 made from aluminium, but he could not do this on a large scale. He made another motor of 100 millimeters stroke and 100 millimeters diameter, and put these into some Russian buses and Jeep-like trucks.[35]

In the end, the dieselising operation in Cuba was abandoned partly because all the ZIL lorries in Cuba had been appropriately treated, partly because less than a third were in truth transformable.[36]

Now that Eduardo was well established in Cuba, he was asked to advise on all

manner of projects of which he had not heard until that time. For example, it seemed also necessary to create a factory for screws in Matanzas because in Cuba there were none of any quality. There was soon also a change in respect of foundry that, to begin with, so far as Eduardo's needs were concerned, was done at the Fundición Libertad, in Marianao just outside Havana. The move was later made to a new iron works at the back of the Narciso López Roselló factory.

Soon, too, there was established an aluminium foundry in the multipurpose factory "Partes y Piezas" in Pinar del Río. The idea was that aluminium should be produced on new lines. The suppliers of the machinery were Spanish or Italian. Three electric ovens were built. The fábrica "Partes y Piezas" had, soon, a special Barrieros section attached for heat treatment, water plants, and also ship engines.

In 1985, finally, Eduardo could salute the production of the first prototype of a motor of 100 horsepower, TAÍNO-EB.

The Taíno motors, to begin with, needed to import from Spain the pieces that were the most difficult to manufacture. These were the cylinder heads, the crankshafts, and the injection pumps. These pieces were mostly made by old suppliers of the factory at Villaverde. Eduardo's two large sheds in Pinto received these completed objects and submitted them to a quality control before packing them off to Cuba. After a year or so, the mechanisation became possible in Cuba. Finally, in a third phase the founding was done in Cuba and only the injection pumps needed to be imported from Spain.

That diminished the importance of Pinto, and one of the two sheds was let to a publishing house. The other was used for investigation and research and the manufacture of prototypes. In the end Cuba bought for a good price the injection pumps, from Condfiesel in Barcelona.[37]

These were complicated times in Cuba. On the one hand, the government was reviving for the first time since the early 1960s relations with the major Latin American continental countries. Most of them offered loans. Thus, admittedly according to Fidel Castro, the economy grew between 1982 and 1984 by 24 percent.[38] The sugar harvests of the early 1980s were also good, averaging 7.5 million tons, higher than the crop had been since before 1959.[39]

The drop in the price of sugar between 1980 and 1985, from twenty-seven cents a pound to fourteen cents in 1985, however, reduced foreign earnings. The decline in oil prices after 1985 had a similar effect, for in the 1970s and early 1980s, Cuba had sold elsewhere a quarter of the twelve million tons of crude oil it received from Russia — so obtaining $500 million, or 40 percent, of its foreign exchange.

At the same time, Cuban debts increased: to the free world from $2.8 billion in the early 1980s to $6 billion in 1987. Cuba's debt to the Soviet bloc was $19 billion in 1987.

Castro in 1985 denounced his old five-year plan that he had himself devised and removed those who were responsible for its failure, at the same time calling for a "Rectification of Errors." The most evident sign of that was an absurd cancellation of the permissions granted in 1976 to small traders and artisans to provide private services and set up street stalls. Thus even before the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989, Cuba was moving to become a place of great austerity in the Communist world that went ill with the naturally happy and delightful character of the Cubans. The role of Castro is comparable to that of Franco in that neither of those long-lasting leaders was typical of the people whom they ruled.

36

I Am a Barreiros Product

I too am a Barreiros product.

—*Cecilio González in Havana, 2001*

In 1984, Eduardo, on one of his return visits to Spain, went with his Cuban assistant, Estela Domínguez (she had been appointed by Marcos Lage of SIME, whom she would much later succeed as a vice minister) to Villaverde. He asked her to drive: in an open black Mercedes. When they arrived at the fábrica, a substantial number from the work force were waiting outside. People wept to see him again. He was "plethoric," Estela recalled.[1]

Estela Rodríguez was tall, good-looking, elegant in dress, efficient but relaxed. One of her grandfathers came from Galicia but that was not the obvious reason why she played such a part in the life of Eduardo in Cuba. Before working with him, she had been just a graduate of the Havana University. She worked for Miguel Macías, then one of the vice ministers in SIME, as an assistant in charge of administration.

Her work with Eduardo, she recalled, was twofold: "first, to organise the business in Cuba and, second, to find money to buy the machines necessary—and then to buy them." Eduardo knew by the time that she began to work for him something of the bizarre Cuban industrial system, and he was governed by the reflection of Marcos Lage: "What you want to do is difficult, but not impossible." There were, after all, other entrepreneurs in Cuba, including other Spanish ones! But "our business," said Estela Domínguez, "was really an empire."

How did Eduardo adjust to Cuba? "Well! Perhaps it would have been easier if he had been an *isleño* (a Canary Islander) or an *andaluz*." Estela went on, "But, you know, the Cubans are hard-working, at least when there is a motive."

"There were people against Eduardo's ideas, but they were not against him himself. Fidel [Castro]'s support greatly helped him. In that respect, the warm, attractive personality of Eduardo must have assisted his cause considerably."[2]

Eduardo also continued to have his critics in Madrid. Thus in August 1985 he wrote to Joan Majó Crousate, minister of industry in Felipe González's government in Spain, saying that the sub-secretary of industry, Santos, and Juan Llorens, the president of Pegaso, had been to Cuba "sowing uncertainties in relation to the operation of the Barreiros vehicles." He hoped that the minister would prevent such a thing happening again, given the contribution which he, Eduardo, was making to the Spanish balance of payments.[3]

Less improbable was the hostility of the Soviet Union to what Eduardo was trying to do: not in relation to the Taíno motors but to the ZILs. For in 1986, a Soviet commission came to Havana. This included a representative of the Soviet Ministry of Industry and an official from the factory that produced the ZIL. It was a consequence of a report of a technical attaché in the Soviet embassy in Havana, Vladimir J. Rykalin, about testing the transformed motors. The Soviet government became angry, and Cecilio González, the Cuban manager of the Amistad Cubano-Soviética plant, had what he called a "violent quarrel with the Russians."

Cecilio González had been chosen by Marcos Lage to work with Eduardo, when he considered himself still a revolutionary. His father had been a bus conductor in Havana. "In 1983," he recalled later, "our philosophy really was revolution!" Cecilio González had worked in St. Petersburg and spoke Russian. "I learned something there," he said. "You remember that Martí said that he had lived inside the monster? He meant the U.S.! I too have lived inside the monster: I mean, the USSR!"

Cecilio considered himself a disciple of Eduardo, a "Barreiros product" who, he thought, contributed fundamentally to the new Cuban economy—by showing to the doctrinaire government of the day, not unlike General Franco's in its early stages, the possible benefits of private business. Eduardo remained the "master" for Cecilio and he it was who had inspired in his pupil an important change in the 1990s. "In 1983 we were *rojo*," he once said. "Now we are *rosado*!"[4]

Eduardo had stressed the importance of human relations more than material ones. Villaverde had set "an example." "In Cuba, we met incomprehension and often we realised that we were walking 'on a tightrope,'" he himself later wrote.[5]

Eduardo had a good eye for selecting people, Cecilio conceded, but he was also demanding (*exigente*) and interested in detail.

"In Cuba, there was then never any tradition of working on Saturdays," Cecilio González said, "but I [myself] had the habit of going to the fábrica at 10 A.M.

all the same. Eduardo was always there and we would spend the day working together."[6]

That same year, 1986, it became evident in Cuba, as well as the Soviet Union, that in the latter country Gorbachev was introducing real reforms. Castro, however, replied by introducing his "Rectification of Errors" (to which reference was made in the preceding chapter), which seemed to be a return to austerity. The "maximum leader" said that far too much importance had been given to material incentives! Next year, the government of Cuba began to spy on Soviet citizens if they were working in Cuba.[7] That was the year of Castro's most significant involvement in Angola.

But there was a dark side to that story: Arnaldo Ochoa, the senior Cuban general in Angola, for a time commander of 50,000 men, began to express irritation at his president's constant interference in matters of strategy. Ochoa, who had been with Castro since the Sierra Maestra, was also contemptuous of some powerful Cubans, such as in particular Castro's then right-hand man, Carlos Aldana Escalante, secretary for ideology. Then, at the end of 1988, in the last months of the Cold War, Russia (as the USSR became speedily known), Cuba, South Africa, and the Government party in Angola agreed that all foreign troops would be withdrawn from Angola. Castro agreed but was bitter. He denounced Ochoa and two of his close friends, the De la Guardia brothers, both deeply involved in espionage and subversion against the West, for their "viceregal" style of life in Angola.[8]

In April 1989, Gorbachev visited Cuba to explain these extraordinary changes of Russian policy, including a new alliance that henceforth would govern Cuba. Trade relations between Russia and Cuba would be on the basis of equality! Commerce would be governed by exchanges in dollars. There would be no more Soviet subsidies. The Russian leader was greeted with the extraordinary placard, "Long live Marxism Leninism."

Gorbachev made no effort to persuade the Cubans to follow him into radical change. "You can do as you think fit," he said.[9] How curious that remark sounded! The result was that in the summer of 1989, the Cuban censorship began to prohibit the sale on Cuban newsstands of Spanish editions of *Moscow News* and *Sputnik*, for they had recently discussed the changes in Russia and even the possible alternatives to Marxism-Leninism.

Two years later, on September 11, 1991, Gorbachev made evident that the Soviet brigade in Cuba that had inspired such misgivings in the United States for so long would shortly be withdrawn. He confirmed that in a press conference with James Baker, the United States Secretary of State, at his side. Castro heard this news from a radio broadcast.

Castro and people close to him in Havana began to suggest that Ochoa and the De la Guardia brothers wanted to lead Cuba along a Gorbachevian path. Conversations in Ochoa's car were regularly eavesdropped upon. Ochoa was said to have stolen $200,000 intended for the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. He and the De la Guardias were apparently overheard laughing at Castro. Ochoa was believed to have a private bank account in Panama.[10] Rumour was piled on rumour. Who knows the whole truth of this "*ténébreuse affaire*"? Ochoa probably did hope to lead a Cuban perestroika in the style of Gorbachev in Russia.

On June 11, 1989, Ochoa and the De la Guardias were seen off shore in a fast motorboat. Perhaps, it was thought by the Cuban security service, they were rehearsing their escape. If so, they acted too late: the next day, June 12, Ochoa, the two De la Guardias, and fourteen officers close to them were arrested. They were accused of dealing in drugs—a charge that may have been true since traffickers in that commodity had often carried Cuban arms to Latin American guerrillas. Tony de la Guardia claimed later that he had Castro's approval for that. Perhaps that too was so. Ochoa, also, had apparently authorised an ADC to talk to Pablo Escobar, the prince of drugs in Colombia, who had wanted to buy ground-to-air missiles to protect his base. The general was also accused of dealing in drugs; his defence was that he wanted to raise money for his troops.

A secret court martial sentenced Ochoa, Tony de la Guardia, and two others to death. They had pleaded guilty in the hope of saving their families from reprisals. The Pope sent a special message asking for a pardon but the nuncio Mgr. Faustino Sanz Muñoz could not shake Castro's determination to go through with the decision. Castro expressed his pleasure that the Pope had interested in himself in Cuba but said that he could do nothing because the judges had decided.[11] The sentences were carried out. Patricio de la Guardia and nine others received long prison sentences. Later, the minister of the interior, José Abrantes, was also given a prison sentence for negligence, and he later died in prison.

Among those imprisoned was Diocles Torralba González, who had become one of Eduardo's closest friends and who was condemned to twenty years of imprisonment. His "crime" was to have acquired abroad two hundred cars for $840,000. He was the father of María Elena, wife of Tony de la Guardia, and had been in his time a vice president of the council of ministers, minister of sugar, a member of the central committee of the Cuban Communist party, chief of air defence, as well as, recently, minister of transport, in which capacity he had come to know Eduardo well. He was a man of great energy and style, if known as given to the good things of life. He did not serve his full sentence but afterwards lived reserved and withdrawn.

No one doubted that Torralba was innocent. It was an event that caused Eduardo to reflect deeply on his next move in his unpredictable life. How is it possible, he asked himself, if no one else, that a man so transparently honest as Torralba could be accused of treason?

Meantime, leaving all his projects reasonably well looked after at his Cuban fábrica, Eduardo went in February 1986, with "Paco" Chaves and Cecilio González, as well as his daughter, Mariluz, and two Spanish mechanics, Ángel Jiménez and Luis Olmedo, to Russia, for a month in the winter, taking with them two new dieselised ZIL motors whose speed they hoped to demonstrate before the Russians. Another member of the group who went to Russia was Manuel Rubio, a worker who at that time continued to work in the mornings in Villaverde and then in the afternoons worked for DIMISA in the Madrid dormitory town of Pinto.

The Soviet embassy in Havana had become interested in Eduardo's programmes for dieselisation. The motors that they brought were deliberately "lost" by the Russians at the airport. Then after two weeks they were "discovered." Barreiros and his colleagues stayed at the hotel Cosmos and went to the ZIL factory in Moscow, where they tested one motor in the factory's testing ground and the other in a Russian lorry on the ordinary road. Cecilio González commented, "There we were for fifteen days, carrying out tests in a temperature of twenty degrees below zero, which meant that the motors had to have a specially strong capacity for resistance. But this had already been demonstrated in Pinto (Madrid) where Eduardo had constructed a special room where engines could be tested at 30 degrees below freezing."[12]

Both tests were a success. "The Russians," Cecilio González recalled, "could not believe that one could change motors thus; indeed, they seemed to know nothing of Eduardo's actions in Spain." So they were impressed. Eduardo discovered that there were many buses in Russia still using gasoline, not diesel oil, and he thought that he could do something in that respect, having recently changed so many trucks from one to the other in Cuba.[13]

The Russians did not give any commission to Eduardo because, for reasons of "amour propre," which applies even in controlled economies, they could not bring themselves to use a Cuban product. How could the great Soviet empire sink so low as to use a manufacture from the Caribbean! The Russians also probably feared spies in the enterprise.

Eduardo wrote a memorandum on the subject of dieselisation in Russia: "The consumption of petrol by the original ZIL lorry over 40,000 kilometres would be 15,200 litres. If they used diesel, it would be only 10,500 litres."[14]

On his return to Cuba, Eduardo wrote to Bashitsayan, the vice president of

the Soviet Union, to whom he had talked. He argued the benefits of his system and told him of the number of motors that he had successfully transformed in Cuba.[15] There was a glacial silence.

The Taíno, meantime, went from strength to strength in Cuba. It also won prizes in the fairs of Leipzig, Roumania, Bulgaria. Heartened by such success, Eduardo felt able to write to Castro to argue for a change in official policy. The Taíno's success, after all, had been one of the mixed economy. Contrary to what Castro had argued in his recent declaration, more incentives, Eduardo thought, not less, were needed to make Cuba function properly. History was "a history of struggle" (*una historia de lucha*), he wrote, almost as if he were a Marxist. "Where would we be," he asked, "if it were not for the efforts and actions of our ancestors both close and distant?" So, he asked (not entirely consequently), for Castro's approval of small workshops—such as the one he himself had founded with Manolo Cid in the Avenida de Buenos Aires in Orense, he must have been thinking.[16] He was essentially advocating, as Castro must have supposed, for a sophisticated and expanded revival of the policies of 1976.

Castro does not seem to have replied. It was a complicated moment in Cuba. As a result of Gorbachev's changes of front in Russia, in 1989–91, all Cuba's economic arrangements were falling apart. The commercial alliance of the Soviet world, Comecon, was dissolved in June 1991, the Soviet Communist party in August, the Soviet Union itself in December of that year. "Russia," and all the Eastern European countries, thenceforth insisted on being paid in hard currency for all services and goods. Hungary ceased to provide buses.

Extraordinary changes followed. Because of a shortage of oil, the sugar harvest was cut 70 percent by hand in 1993. Ox carts even briefly returned to replace tractors. Without smiling, Castro told Cubans: "We are now entering the age of the bicycle." "The crisis of 1991 ruined all our sleep," recalled the minister Ignacio González Planas.[17] The Cubans joked that the policy in relation to electricity reminded them of the flickering lights on Christmas trees. Sometimes there was light, sometimes not.[18] Castro mocked the West's idea of "inflexible socialism" as opposed to "good socialism": "Long live inflexibility!" he mordantly exclaimed.

There was a setback too in relation to the Taíno. Up until now, the injection pumps of Cuba had been provided by CAV/CONDIESEL of Barcelona, which was a part of the Lucas group. The latter company now decided that it was going to abandon its manufacture of "line pumps" (*bombas de línea*) and replace them with "rotative pumps" (*bombas rotativas*). The TAÍNO-EB and all its applications had been conceived with the incorporation of line pumps. That caused alarm in Havana. The main competitor of CAV/CONDIESEL was Robert

Bosch of West Germany, but that supplier inspired doubts in Cuba: any contact with Bosch was unpopular with the government of East Germany and there were also bad relations between Cuba and the federal government of Germany.

Eduardo suggested that the best solution was to buy from CAV/CONDIESEL in Barcelona the equipment that it was going to abandon. He and the Cuban government could surely obtain it at a good price. He would find a technician to supervise the transfer of the appropriate parts of the CAV/CONDIESEL factory to Havana and to create a special division of his own fábrica for the new purpose. Eduardo recalled that in the faraway 1950s, he himself had created just such a plant making pumps (Compañía Anónima de Bombas [CAB]) which made all that was needed for the new diesel engines of Barreiros.

These ideas were pursued, and by 1991 the establishment of the new factory was complete. In the end Eduardo settled on an English technician, Paterson, to do the work of supervision since he was ready to remain in Cuba.

Eduardo continued to go back and forth to Madrid. But though his relations with his intimate family remained as warm as ever, those with his brothers were not so close as they once had been. He once wrote to Celso complaining of various events in the past, but he added, "Fortunately I have excellent health and a capacity to triumph in Cuba as I did in Spain, for things are going well in respect of motors, buses (autocars) and trucks, and now we are going to begin with tractors and bulldozers."[19]

In the summer of 1989, the Cuban magazine *Bohemia*, once, years before, under different direction the pride of free Havana but by that time a craven agent of the Cuban regime, published an article about Eduardo entitled "All the Taínos dance Guaguanco" ("Los Taínos bailan Guaguanco").

"In the system of hierarchy," commented Eduardo, "it is illogical to place seniority before the training of a worker. Another thing that surprises me in Cuba is the way that the middle-ranking specialists are evaluated by their subordinates and not by their superiors. That is a folly."

In addition, Eduardo said that at the end of August he would have all the necessary machines in order to begin serious production the next year. He said they were making "motors with their nails. They did not have the means but now we are beginning to make modern machines of great quality. In two or three years, we shall have the most important manufactory of motors in all Latin America. . . . My technology is the most advanced one that there is today. My models are made to drive a million miles without having to be touched. . . . With the exception of General Motors, there is no plant in the world that produces this kind of motor. "[20]

"The Taíno," he told a reporter on the French edition of Cuba's national pa-

per, *Granma*, about that time, was "a motor that now could have anything between 200 and 700 horsepower. With the same pieces, one could make numerous variations without needing to create one line of production for every power."[21]

That year 1989, Eduardo would also make the first ten buses designed for transport in Cuban cities, of which 75 percent of the construction would be local: the motor, the chassis, the gear box, and the coach-work. These would carry fifty passengers seated and fifty-two standing.[22] A substantial number of these would be supplied with Taíno motors, to be made 75 percent with Cuban parts, and it was hoped to make 4,000 units a year. That kind of motor would have cost $24,000 on the international market, but its price in Cuba would be only half.

By the time of the fall of the Soviet Union, Eduardo had also "dieselised" several hundred Russian ZIL motors, V8s, while the factory Amistad Cubano-Soviética was able to produce Taíno engines of six, eight, or ten cylinders.

Some Cuban honours now came to Eduardo. For example, on June 28, 1991, Eduardo was named a "profesor invitado" at the Instituto Superior de Diseño Industrial.[23] He had never aspired before to a professorship. He thought it a wonderful nomination.[24] Then on October 1, Eduardo became a doctor "honoris causa" in Havana. This too was a great pleasure for him, even though he should have received the same honour years earlier in Madrid. Carlos Rafael Rodríguez presided. Eduardo's speech then was confused, for he did not keep to the text that Estela Domínguez had prepared for him. All the same, he explained how he had begun life on his grandfather's minifundio (in Gundiás) of 100 to 200 square yards in size. He declared, "My affection for Cuba is because Cuba was the first country to which I exported the products which I produced. It was my best client in the 1960s." He expected to remain in Havana, since his plan, and that of SIME, was to achieve in the next five years fifty thousand motors and to export a part of them. He said recently he had read the biographies of Henry Ford and Alexander the Great. "Cuba will always have me at its disposition. Cuba is my second country," he said to applause, and he added for the purpose of diplomacy, "Long live Cuba, long live Spain, long live Castro, long live the King!"[25]

Despite these words about the next five years, Eduardo now considered his work in Cuba as complete. Amistad was soon going to be able to produce ten motors every twenty-four hours. They could be used in cane cutters and in tractors, in buses and in lorries. From 1991 all the buses of Cuba, travelling at seventy miles an hour, were the consequence of his handiwork. Some of these artefacts were to be seen also on the roads of Eastern Europe. His transformation of gasoline-using vehicles into dieselised ones had been a success. In both these zones

of activity, protégés such as Cecilio González would be able to carry on his work in his absence.

These were still extraordinarily difficult times for Cuba since Gorbachev in Moscow had given way to Yeltsin, who was determined to bring to an end all help to the Cubans. Soviet technicians and military units were withdrawn in late 1991.[26]

So it was not surprising that in these months, after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the beginning of what seemed to be another age, Eduardo should seek a new world in which to triumph. He wondered, for example, whether Israel might profit from his services. Perhaps China could be interested. He even prepared a plan for the government of China for the "dieselisation" of ZIL motors and for making other motors.[27] He spent two weeks there with Dorinda in 1990. In the end no offer was forthcoming. At the end of 1991, Eduardo also conceived a motor that he wanted to export to Angola.[28] Antonio Guisasola recalled that they "had nearly all the pieces to make this" by early 1992.[29] Angola was, of course, in the sights of Eduardo and of the Cubans because of the latter's long military involvement with that country beginning in 1975. That had only just come to an end.

In early February 1992, Eduardo and Guisasola were preparing their suitcases for Angola "in order to found a motor industry."[30] Eduardo planned to go to Madrid in March to be present at his daughter Mariluz's second wedding, on the thirtieth of that month, to Jesús de Polanco, the prominent Spanish entrepreneur so well established in all branches of the media, and he thought that afterwards he would go with Guisasola to explore possibilities in Angola.

Meantime, he decided that all such new projects would be more easily accomplished if he were to dismantle DIMISA, the company that he had founded to organise his work in Cuba. The reason was the fiscal advantage. On February 10, Eduardo wrote to González Planas at SIME to explain. To avoid unwelcome investigations by tax inspectors, Eduardo proposed to found a new empresa, Hispano Cubana S.A., whose capital would be a minimum of 10,000,000 pesetas that would be shared by him up to 50 percent. "We would have to pay the usual European community taxes," Eduardo accepted, but the director-general would be a Cuban. Eduardo signed his letter to González Planas "fraternally"—an adverb that would have horrified many old colleagues in Villaverde.[31]

All these plans were fatally interrupted. On February 19, 1992, Eduardo, then aged seventy-two, experienced some pains in his chest and arranged to go to the clinic Cimecq in Siboney, a leafy suburb in west Havana—an excellent hospital designed for diplomats and members of the government. Luis Gutiérrez, Ed-

uardo's close Cuban friend and partner, austerely commented: "The membrane of his heart turned out to be liquid."

How vividly we can imagine Eduardo being driven to this hospital, along the dramatic Malecón, past the beautiful hotel Riviera built by the gangster Anastasia in 1958, seeing the ocean tossing up its marvellous waves over the sea-wall, entering Fifth Avenue in Miramar, once the Avenida de America, with embassy flags flying from handsome houses that, in many cases, had been confiscated from their real owners then in exile. He drove past his favourite restaurant, La Cecilia, where he had entertained so many of his friends and collaborators, often with their families, on so many Sundays. Then, tall ficus trees, bougainvilleas, and fine gardens opened the way to the low-lying hospital, with its handsome garden.

When he entered his comfortable room, did he see in his mind's eye, one wonders, his grandfather's house in Gundiás where he saved the *abuelo* Francisco from being burned or one of the great sheds (*naves*) at Villaverde? Did he recall Puerto Vallehermoso, with Barnum and the other prize bulls? Did visions of fellow Gallegos such as Franco or Castro—or Fraga (who had visited Cuba recently as the president of the autonomous government of Galicia), or Pío Cabanillas, whom he loved despite their falling out in 1980, cross his mind? Did a refrain from some old Gallego song or dance come to him, or was it just the popular song "Ramona"? If so, perhaps not for long, for he had with him his briefcase full of new projects.

Surely, though, he would have thought, if he had any intimation of mortality, in his bedroom, of Dorinda, waiting so long ago on cold mornings at the bus stop in Cerreda; of Mariluz, a child, asking him why he went out so early in the morning from the flat in the Paseo de Moret: "Where are you going so early, papa?" "To get a little money for you"; of Eduardo-Javier and his wonderful successes at school; and, who knows, of Manolo Cid in that first, small workshop in the Avenida de la Habana of Orense.

"Eduardo was operated upon in hospital and died in the process."[32]

Epilogue

A combative spirit of creation.

—Dorinda Ramos of Eduardo, her husband

Mariluz Barreiros came immediately with her husband-to-be, Jesús de Polanco, to take home her father's body to Madrid in an aeroplane that the latter hired from the banker Emilio Botín. The Cuban government showed every attention to the memory of one who had served their country well, and the example of whose work and generosity would remain among his collaborators and friends. Castro sent a wreath. The Barreiros family in Madrid received hundreds of communications of condolence—letters, telegrams, cards—including a telegram from the king and queen, and others from an innumerable number of those who had worked, or played, with Eduardo in one or another of his diverse activities over the previous seventy years. Eduardo was buried in the pantheon that he had himself established for his father and mother on the slopes near the hermitage of San Isidro, whose fair, as it was in the eighteenth century, is so well known from one of the most charming paintings of the great Goya.

The parents of Eduardo Barreiros were children, and descendants, of small farmers in Orense, Galicia. All were minifundistas, living from 100 or 200 square yards on which they grew vines, barley, chestnuts, and maize.[1] These holdings brought them little money but, since they had no masters and no real landlords, left them, as that type of property left most Gallegos, with an independence of spirit. Eduardo always had that. He was at ease with both humble and powerful men, with foreigners and with Castilians, with those who worked in a small workshop in Orense as in a large factory outside Madrid or in Havana.

The Barreiros family were good-looking: as Gibbon put it, "an outward gift that is seldom despised, except by those to whom it has been refused."[2] A journalist, Juan Plá, said of Eduardo that he had a "smile of the Atlantic countryside." Dorinda said of Eduardo: "My husband was someone who to begin with entered you through his eyes."[3] "His face indicated his Gallego ancestry," wrote a Catalan journalist in 1964.[4] When Eduardo and Dorinda went to Hanover for the former to sign a contract for the joint production of tractors with Hanomag, the wife of the German firm's president (Otto Merkler) said to her husband, "I think that you should sign because those eyes cannot deceive anyone."[5] Whatever else may be said of Eduardo, it is obvious that he was "dearly loved" and had too a "gift for dealing with people."[6]

His family were energetic, too. A creative impulse had driven several of his close relations to break from ancient agrarian routines. Eduardo's father went to work with an elder brother in Las Palmas in the Canaries. An uncle bought and sold gold, a cousin became a jeweller in Corunna. They as well as Higinio Losada, another jeweller from Gundiás, were Eduardo's chief financial backers in the first stage of his life.

The atmosphere of the Barreiros family in Orense was profoundly religious. Luzdivina, Eduardo's mother, a strong character, went to mass every day. Despite that, and despite his affection for his mother, Eduardo did not have much time for religion, and he did his best to persuade his sister María Luz not to join the Carmelites. All the same, he considered himself a Catholic and remembered the proverbs and sayings which his mother had repeated to him as a child: "Dignity is the basis of being a human being"; "If you can, always give what you are being asked for."[7]

Eduardo loved his family, and early in life, his brother Valeriano was his chief financial adviser while Graciliano served as talent scout. (Valeriano was good with figures while Eduardo was not.) He was generous to all his brothers in an unsurpassable manner, paying for their education, even ensuring that they made a fortune at the same time as he did. He was generous to his children (though he wanted them to excel and to learn languages) and liked giving them presents. If his daughter Mariluz bought new clothes, Eduardo would smile, delighted, and if the bill was large, so much the better.[8]

He felt a responsibility as well to remote relations. In 1965, he asked Dorinda's uncle Fr. Manuel Ramos Ramos, the priest of San Miguel, to administer a fund that he wanted to establish and whose purpose was to give 200,000 pesetas to each one of seventeen cousins who were still living in that parish. Some years before he had sent 25,000 pesetas to help that *cura* in such works in the church.[9]

He also built a road to Gundiás. He charmed children: Sol de la Serna, a childhood friend of Mariluz's, would say: "If Papa dies, I would like Señor Barreiros to be my new Papa."[10]

Dorinda played an important part in Eduardo's life. She had led a sheltered life as a boarder in the Carmelite school before her marriage and her horizons had been limited to the beautiful but remote and sometimes inhospitable valley of the Sil. But she adapted easily to life in first Orense and then Madrid as if she had been born to it. She learned quickly the ways of the capital: how to dress, how to entertain, how to talk to Franco, how to live! For seventeen years, until their marriages in 1963 and 1964, Dorinda looked after Eduardo's three brothers as if they had been part of her own family. She was one of them, Celso said, the perfect sister-in-law. She arranged not only their meals but their clothes, ensuring that they had on them name tags. She always had servants, for they were cheap in Orense in the 1940s and inexpensive in Madrid in the 1950s. But all the same, though she was spoiled ("*mimada*") by Eduardo, her life was difficult and demanding. She never complained.

Eduardo was born at the right time in Spain for someone fascinated by motors. The 1920s were golden years for a mechanically minded child. Before he was fifteen, Eduardo could mend anything mechanical. He was "a born engineer without formally being one," his brother Celso explained. A Basque from an important banking family who worked with him, Vicente Eulate, thought that he had an "astonishing mechanical intuition."[11]

Once Eduardo had founded his workshop in Orense, he never ceased to work. "Some people are born to work," a Gallego innkeeper's wife said to Nina Epton, the English traveller, in Corme in 1955, and the latter herself said that she had often heard that phrase when in Galicia. Eduardo was of that stock. He inspired all his workers, wherever and whoever they were and, vertical and horizontal syndicates notwithstanding, they became almost as interested as he was in carrying out their allotted tasks in the best way.

For Eduardo, life certainly meant work. He once said, "After fulfilling my religious obligations [and that was not a matter of supreme concern to him], it has been work to which I have dedicated my life."[12] Cecilio González of Havana said that one of Eduardo's great achievements was to create work for others.

Dorinda thought sometimes that he would have been happier if he had not worked so much. But she also recalled that Eduardo would always say that God had created man in order to work;[13] and, to the magazine *Miss*, she once said, "Eduardo is above all an active, dynamic man, a worker. A person entirely absorbed by what he is doing. He is one of those people who cannot survive without

giving himself up to an activity. We never knew what he was going to do next. He travels a lot but what most characterises him is his combative spirit of creation."[14]

Julián Merino, the Cantabrian engineer who was with Eduardo in both Spain and Cuba, remembers Eduardo saying to him in 1954, when he joined him in Villaverde, "There are no limits. Everyone who works with me must work. There are no hours." A comparison with the work in the army [which he had done previously] was absurd," Merino said, "there could be no comparison. For in Barreiros, they worked; in the army they fiddled about."[15] José Corona in Cuba said much the same: "His life was his work." His work here was not a "business," it was a passion. Fernández Baquero wrote that he had never seen anyone, he said, work as Eduardo did on the design table on sketches in the cylinder head section.[16] Eduardo undoubtedly would have agreed with the spirited remark of the last great composer of Vienna, Richard Strauss, when he said "work is a constant and never-ending source of enjoyment to which I have completely dedicated myself."[17]

Rafael Vélez of Havana once accompanied Eduardo to Pinto, on the way from Madrid to Andalusia, where the latter had his last laboratory, and his last Spanish *naves*. It was there that Vélez saw that he was *possessed* by his work.

The old English saying is "All work and no play makes of Jack a dull boy." Eduardo made everything seem the reverse of those things. Passion inspires attention and enthusiasm, and passion, dedication and enthusiasm were what characterised Eduardo's whole approach to life.

Eduardo took decisions quickly (too quickly for a farmer) and held to them. Fernández Baquero wrote: "I never saw Don Eduardo going back on any decision which he had taken nor change an order which he had given. The commander of a company must know how to be the controller of Alsatian dogs who choose a victim and are trained to kill at their master's orders. It is not possible for the order to be changed. Otherwise they will never obey again."[18]

Eduardo treated his workers, in his workshop in Orense as in the fábrica in Madrid, in his finca in Puerto Vallehermoso as in the fábrica in Cuba, as if they were an extended family. He founded his own welfare state in his fábricas. A close friend and collaborator from the province of Orense, Domingo Fernández remarked once that Eduardo was, in a real sense, the first socialist he knew. He would insist that Valero, his chauffeur in Cuba, sat at the same table as he: "You are not an employee, you are a member of the family," he would say.[19] He chose his senior colleagues well and was usually able to delegate authority to them even if he saw his role as to complete their education.

These actions certainly made Eduardo a "paternalist." Annabelle Rodríguez,

daughter of the Cuban leader Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, went further; she considered him a "patriarch."[20] But he was an enlightened patriarch and one who preferred to do everything that he had to do "*en casa*"; the reason for the foundry, for example.[21]

Eduardo's generosity was one reason for his success. Perhaps he inherited that trait from his parents, who always gave money to the many beggars who came to their hospitable doors in the 1930s. Eduardo's employees also usually loved him because he seemed to be one of them. That was the case in Cuba as in Ciudad Real and in Villaverde. The Cubans who worked with him remember him as appreciative, affectionate, and enthusiastic as do those workers who had been with him in Spain.

Eduardo fought for a time as a Carlist in the civil war, though he never showed any further interest in that dimension of the nationalist cause. His Carmelite sister, the Reverend Mother María Luz, commented, "In my view it was an idea without any depth and something that passed quickly."[22] All the same, Eduardo, like most of those of the old Right, remained grateful to the generals who, he thought, had saved Spain from Communism. Cardinal Segura, the unbending archbishop of Seville, told a British diplomat in 1950, "The experience of Spaniards of all sorts with the Communists in the civil war explains much of the lack of political moderation in Franco's regime."[23] The Right knew that had the Left triumphed (and they might have done so), they too would have entered an inferno.

Eduardo later moved easily into the circle of Franco in the 1960s not because he coveted preferment but because he realised that in the interventionist political system that had come into being after 1939, ministerial backing was necessary for industrial innovation. The regime sometimes seemed to be government by *cacería*. To survive as an entrepreneur, Eduardo had to be good at shooting. He told the newspaper *El País* (which he had helped to found) that the general invited him to shoots on ten occasions, and he invited Franco several times. He added, "I knew that Franco admired and respected me." "And you he?" "Also, also," Eduardo replied. The drastic alternative to working within the frame of the regime would have been exile. That seemed a negation of patriotism.

There were only two occasions in Spain when Eduardo was explicitly assisted by his political friendships: first, when he was permitted in 1967 by the Council of Ministers to sell to the Chrysler Corporation shares that would leave them with more than the legally approved 49 percent share of his business; second, earlier, when he was able to secure, faster than was usually the case, an official agreement to take from the customs house imported North American automobile parts (for the Dodge). Otherwise, like all outside the magic circle of state

beneficiaries, he experienced the constant obstruction of the Ministry of Industry.

All men, said Karl Popper, make mistakes, and great men make great mistakes. Eduardo made a mistake in deciding so quickly to make motor cars as well as motors for lorries, buses, tractors, and taxis. That led him into his fatal association with the Chrysler Corporation of Detroit that ended so badly for him and his brothers. Had he not wanted to make motor cars, his factory for industrial vehicles might remain still.

Yet cars were needed in Spain in the 1960s, so the blame attaches not only to Eduardo but to the government of General Franco (specifically the minister of industry, Gregorio López Bravo) and the bankers who did not support him in this matter. Partly that was because at that time, the idea of selling trucks on instalment (*plazos*, 25 percent down, the rest over three years), of which method of purchase Eduardo was a pioneer, sounded dangerous both to conventional finance houses and to the government. Gonzalo Lacalle, later governor of the Bank of Spain, suggested to Eduardo that he should raise money by launching Barreiros Diesel on the stock market. But Eduardo—in another mistake—feared that he would thereby lose control of his own company.

Eduardo's Orensano collaborator, Fernández Quintas, said, "He always sought new ideas, new things and that characteristic of innovation was an innate quality."[24] "Ever since I was young I had a great ambition," Eduardo said. "The desire to create and produce was the motor of my activities. My ambition was to create things."[25] He wanted to fulfil himself just as much as if he had been an artist. Eduardo was always interested in design: an unusual trait for a great engineer. He was thus the first in Cuba to have a computer primarily for the purposes of design. "What is design?" a Cuban engineer, Francisco Chappotín (he was working on the design of a cane cutter), asked him. "It is beauty, it is fitting everything together harmoniously," was his inspired answer.[26] "He was a visionary," said Joaquín Nebreda, an associate from the Banco de Vizcaya, "in the best sense of the word."[27] His daughter once said: "He knew how to combine this explosion of fantasy with a sense of reality" so that he was "a pragmatic idealist."[28] Íñigo Cavero, his legal adviser, said of him that he was "a being who needed to create, a rather anarchic creator, which is often the case with those beings who are touched by genius."[29]

Eduardo made money, but he always thought of profit as something to invest in his business or in what he was hoping to do next. Íñigo Cavero said: "The money factor was important for him insofar as it guaranteed an agreeable life for his family but it was not the principal element in his brain."[30]

Eduado himself once said: "I always keep to one rule: make money to invest.

Not to spend. Spending leaves nothing, investment creates another vein of riches. The man who has within him the spirit of a creator never stops to think of that kind of question."[31] He was always saying, "Time is more important than gold. One can recover gold, not time."[32]

Riches did not cause him to change his ways. He retained "the body of a poor man." He never seemed sophisticated—even though, as we have seen, Carmen Franco thought that he acted as if he had been a part of Madrid society all his life.[33] On the contrary, he was always simple. If he arranged dinners and shoots, it was because he thought that they might help his business. To his dying day, he preferred "Gallegan stew" (*el caldo gallego*) to a rich dish, and he liked almost as much fried eggs, which he would sometimes order in grand restaurants such as Jockey.

In character, Eduardo seemed something a mixture. Estela Domínguez, who knew him well in Havana, said, "Eduardo was at the same time very simple and very complicated. He was complicated because he was profound. He was, too, generous [*espléndido*] in all senses of the word. He was simple in relation to truth. He was a sensitive man, with a profound intuition for his professional activities. He also had profound wounds [*cicatrices profundas*]. Chrysler was the name of them."[34]

Juan Luis Cebrián, one of the most successful Spanish editors of the time, thought Eduardo "in no way complicated; indeed, he seemed rather austere in his habits to judge from his house in the country, a most discreet person and one exceptionally well brought up without any touch of vanity."[35]

Eduardo was a patriot who loved Spain and, until his financial difficulties in the late 1970s, never thought of working abroad. But he was not a nationalist, for he thought that "the worst evil in the world was the large number of frontiers that still, despite everything, survived."[36] He always believed that Spain should emphasize its European identity. He worked successfully with English, Italian, French, and German partners and even for a time with co-directors from the United States. He never had shared in that ultra-nationalism that characterised Franco's regime in the early 1940s. A citizen of Orense knew very well how the most important factory had been founded by the Flemish family of Malingre. Anyone interested in cars would have known in the 1920s of the importance of American industry. Remember too that Eduardo came from a part of the province of Gundiás where the afilador, the knife grinder, was a familiar figure of importance, and Orensano knife grinders travelled the world.

Eduardo's work in Cuba included the making of motors for the all-important cane cutter, which was necessary for the modernisation of agriculture. When his work seemed done there by 1992, he and Guisasola were thinking of new fields to

conquer—namely, in Angola. Only his sudden death prevented that new page being turned.

Though a Spanish patriot, Eduardo was also a dedicated Gallego. People of his generation felt no difficulty in having two strong loyalties. He and his brothers rarely talked in Gallego after they reached Madrid, but they did not forget it. Mariluz recalls, "He and Mama never lost their Gallego accent."[37] He did not have much time for the homesickness, *saudade* (the word "*morriña*" can also be used) that has always seemed such a characteristic of Gallegos. A mayor of Orense, Domingo Saavedra Sánchez (who afterwards worked in Barreiros Diesel), wrote to Eduardo in November 1956 about his plans to establish a new factory in the city and talked of Eduardo's "proven love for the province in which he was born," speaking too of his "proven '*orensanismo*.'" In his reply, Eduardo spoke of "my dear Orense," adding that, given the distance, he could not afford to build in Orense: "It has not been possible for a series of circumstances of a technical nature" and also "because the province is so far from the centres of primary production."[38] All things being equal, "he would, if he could, favour a Gallego, without any hesitation."[39] That Orense remained in his mind is shown by the aid that he gave to asylums and "benevolent and cultural centres of the province." He also helped to create the industrial suburb outside Orense known as the Polígono de San Cipriano de Viñas.

We must speak of Eduardo's attitude to General Franco and to Fidel Castro. Both presided (or preside) over regimes that humane men found, and find, unacceptable. Eduardo was on good personal terms with both. Marcos Lage, the vice minister of SIME in 1980s who assisted Eduardo in his work in Cuba, said that there was some kind of affinity between Castro and Eduardo. The Gallego common heritage accounted partly for it. Eduardo made no bones about it: "Castro," he said in 1989, "is a man who has special characteristics that make him able to put anyone who talks to him in his pocket." But, he added, "he is austere, reasonable and patriotic."[40] He also told *Tribuna*, the year before he died, that Castro, "who is no fool, knows perfectly well that Communism is dead.[41]

Franco admired Eduardo because he was a Gallego who had carried out a remarkable work without state support. Eduardo was a Francoist and said so.[42] An engineer who was devoted to him, Juan Gayá, commented: "Eduardo was nonpolitical but looked on Franco with *afecto* because he had created a middle class."[43] All the same his courting of Franco and his ministers had only one aim: to assist his own enterprises in a society where ministerial approval was necessary. He may have enjoyed shooting with Franco. But there was a purpose behind the pleasure.

Eduardo spoke in both Spain and Cuba with the voice of industrial liberty. In

Spain he showed that private business could do wonders, even in the unpromising atmosphere of state management and autarchy. In Cuba he helped to begin a not yet concluded process of liberalisation. He persuaded Castro to introduce a law of incentives which permitted an employer to pay an extra 20 percent to a worker if he was at his place by 7:30 in the morning.[44] "Eduardo was a pioneer and started an important ball rolling when we needed it," wrote a Cuban friend.[45] In both Spain and Cuba, he, "the master," as his follower Cecilio González spoke of him, was stronger than the systems in which he worked. There is a paradox here. Eduardo, though he collaborated with Franco, helped to transform Franco's economic system—much more than the outright opponents of Franco who changed little or nothing. He was a prime mover in the economic transformation of Spain, whose success was so remarkable in comparison with everything that happened before. He began a transformation in Cuba also, though he was happy to work with Castro.

These matters raise momentous issues that cannot be easily resolved. After explaining as best he could to General Franco how he had designed a new injection pump, that statesman said to him, "Barreiros, why don't you make these things on a large scale to help the country?" Eduardo explained: "They don't let me. The Ministry of Industry prevents me."[46]

Eduardo did not like politics at all, but a man's actions determine them even if he does not expect or wish it. *Vida Nueva* asked him in 1964: "How would you like to arrange that men live better?" "I would not spend money on armaments nor sending men to the moon but in creating better conditions of life for all people."[47] *Gaceta Ilustrada* asked Eduardo in May 1972: "Do you have any particular political idea?" "I have always been apolitical." "Is it really possible?" "Yes, yes, but I will believe in politics when it starts becoming sincere."[48] To *El País* in 1989 he said: "As for politics I have always realised that it is necessary but I have always known that it is not for me. I have no time for it."[49] Except for the last, these were such vague answers that one must assume that for Eduardo, a good or a bad government was just a helping hand or an obstacle, of the same nature as a motorway or a shortage of petrol.

Estela Domínguez in Cuba commented: Eduardo "liked the idea of monarchy [in Spain] and considered the change of regime in his own country 'necessary.' But he was against the development of so many autonomies in Spain because of their great cost, and he thought that Felipe González remained in power too long. Even so he found him a good person, a good ruler and an intelligent man." On this subject, he was closer to the truth than when talking of either Franco or Castro.[50] "To me," Estela Domínguez concluded, "he seemed a man of the Right in politics." But Ignacio González Planas, vice minister of

SIME, commented: "Eduardo was not interested in politics. One has to accept that things are sometimes like that."[51]

Eduardo was seldom irritated. Fernández Baquero said, "One noticed that if anyone was on the point of exploding, he was the first to beg for calm." He always wanted his collaborators to be on good terms.[52]

Eduardo suffered three tragedies. The first was his forced sale of his factory in Villaverde in 1969 to the Chrysler Corporation. The second was his suspension of payments in 1980, which was a blow to his pride and was surely responsible for the heart attack from which he suffered soon afterwards in Havana, and from which he recovered, thanks to the opening of his Cuban opportunity. The third tragedy was the incurable illness in 1961 of his and Dorinda's son Eduardo-Javier, who until then had been so brilliant at school. In that year, the boy's gifts were snuffed out. Eduardo's disappointment was never overcome.

In May 1991 the magazine *Motor* published some reflections of Eduardo's: "A few years ago, a journalist asked me what does the invention of the motor signify for humanity?" Eduardo recalled first the services of the horse, but insisted that the motor—placed in some kind of machine—had been a liberator [*liberadora*]. "I remember," he added, "that, in my youth, I would see in the station at Orense trains leaving full of workers on their way to Castile to gain a modest wage cutting wheat, their scythes in their hands, the work being from daybreak to sunset, in the middle of large wheatfields under a boiling sun. But the motor has enabled the invention of great threshing machines [*máquinas segadoras*], and the same has been true in the cane fields. The last named were known as 'liberators' [*libertadoras*]."[53] It was a fine word.

Eduardo made 210,000 motors, 36,000 tractors, 56,000 trucks, 140,000 saloon cars (SIMCAs and Dodges), and 3,500 buses, as well as Taínos in Cuba.[54] His agricultural property, Puerto Vallehermoso, in Ciudad Real, in the 1970s was a laboratory as much as a farm. But that word "*libertadora*" was what Eduardo undoubtedly would have liked best to have been associated with his life and his work.

Appendix: Letter from Eduardo Barreiros to Fidel Castro

May 6, 1991

The history of humanity is a history of struggle. But I do not refer here to the great feats in history that are the achievements of great men, great gestures of an official kind, but to the daily struggles of silent and pertinacious, ordinary men, every day of their lives.

We know that, if man had not struggled to better himself, he would be still living in a cave and hunting for his food, in what passes for the romantic epoch of seasonal migrations. But thanks to his daily struggle from the birth of time, man has succeeded over the centuries in establishing himself well, and in benefiting from how much nature had placed within his reach. That is how we have achieved a level of civilisation that, despite its many defects that it would be wrong to forget, has, among other things, lengthened human life and has achieved a certain level of well-being, both for himself and for society which, not long ago, his grandfathers would not have been able even to glimpse.

And from the moment that man managed to solve his problem of subsistence (food, health), he has been able to look up and contemplate and fulfil ideals that hunger would not have allowed him to entertain.

Returning to the day-to-day life of man, above all in times of poverty or special difficulties, the genius of man has known how to function wisely. What would we be today without the achievements and the activities of both close and distant ancestors?

It would then seem entirely sensible and desirable to counsel man, to animate him and also to help him, so that his labours to better himself, or maintain himself, are not aborted or relegated to the land of dreams.

In the world of domestic economy, for example (a fine art!), it is much more normal for a woman in her home to sew or darn clothes for her family or to arrange that a suit used by a bigger boy passes to a smaller one, than that it is decided to throw all into the rubbish, without saving something for recycling, etc. In whatever family you choose, you will find something similar to this.

It is very convenient in countries of a high economic level to go to a supermarket and provide oneself with a dozen eggs. But what if there is a shortage, of means or of produc-

tion? To feed two or three chickens with food thrown away can be a simple and cheap solution, and even one with its lessons for the children of the family. Of course, it cannot be a solution for the centre of cities but it certainly is, and an easy one, for those who live outside or in outlying places.

Why not rear a pig, which does not need more than leftovers, which can be transformed without cost into food of the first category as much for its nutritive value as for its delicacy? Why not make use of one's little patio, or backyard next to the house, to plant, in addition to flowers, a tomato plant or some lettuces? They produce proteins, vitamin C, and iron, at least, and they are at a hand's reach.

When one passes through the old cities and the little towns of Europe, which are equally old, one takes pleasure in, and marvels at, the organisation that, long ago, existed in those places. Thus we still see in Toledo, Orense, even in Madrid, names of streets such as Carpenters' Street, Shoe Lane, Bookstreet, Dyers' Road, etc. And one can imagine these small workshops in which there are working two or three people (perhaps with a master, an assistant, and an apprentice), working for the survival of their families and the formation of a profession that would be transmitted to the younger generations (afterwards, the apprentice can become an assistant and finally, with years and experience, a master). Famous barbers, such as one who took the lead in an opera, magical shoemakers such as who make children dream; carpenters capable of giving life to a wooden toy; cooks who make our stomachs happy as well as round; dyers who can rejuvenate clothes, and, nowadays, mechanics who, just as the doctor treats the invalid, revive the health of old automobiles to let them carry precious objects.

There are people with hidden values that with a little effort can be put at the service of society. A carpenter's workshop can resolve problems of tables or chairs and bookshelves. But also at the same time that can ensure the survival of one or two families and the formation of young people. Also a hairdressers' shop for men and women. Even more so, a workshop for mechanical repairs. (If you will forgive a personal reference, I myself worked in just such a place when a boy.) We want to talk, to begin with, of small centres of work that usually are best looked after as family businesses, resolving all problems of the family concerned, but also educating professionals in the different branches of work at a most economic cost and in a very practical way.

I have met in Cuba where there are so many and good people valiant persons who do not have the means to put their qualities at the service of society and of themselves. A few weeks ago I needed to repair some motorcars that I have at my disposition, and I didn't want the technicians at the factory to concern themselves with them because their work is quite different, obviously. I could not find a workshop to carry out the repairs, but then someone introduced me to two young men who offered me their services. They took their tools to a small garage that I have in front of my house and they carried out some repair work that deserved the highest praise. In consequence I recommended them to a friend of mine who has an old Landa and they left it as good as new. My surprise was enormous when, having asked what they did for a living, I realised that they did not have a small workshop where they could offer their excellent serivces to whomsoever had need of them. They explained

to me that that would not be legal and they could not do such a thing legally until they had reached the age of sixty after their retirement.

There are many examples like this, thousands of worthwhile people who cannot carry out their profession to their own satisfaction and in the case of young people begin to think of emigrating in search of better possibilities. I know very well a qualified carpenter, a real artist in woodwork, who has explained to me that if he could only do his work on the island, he would not dream of leaving Cuba, but as he is not allowed to set up a small workshop where he can do what he needs to do professionally, he is thinking of the possibility of leaving.

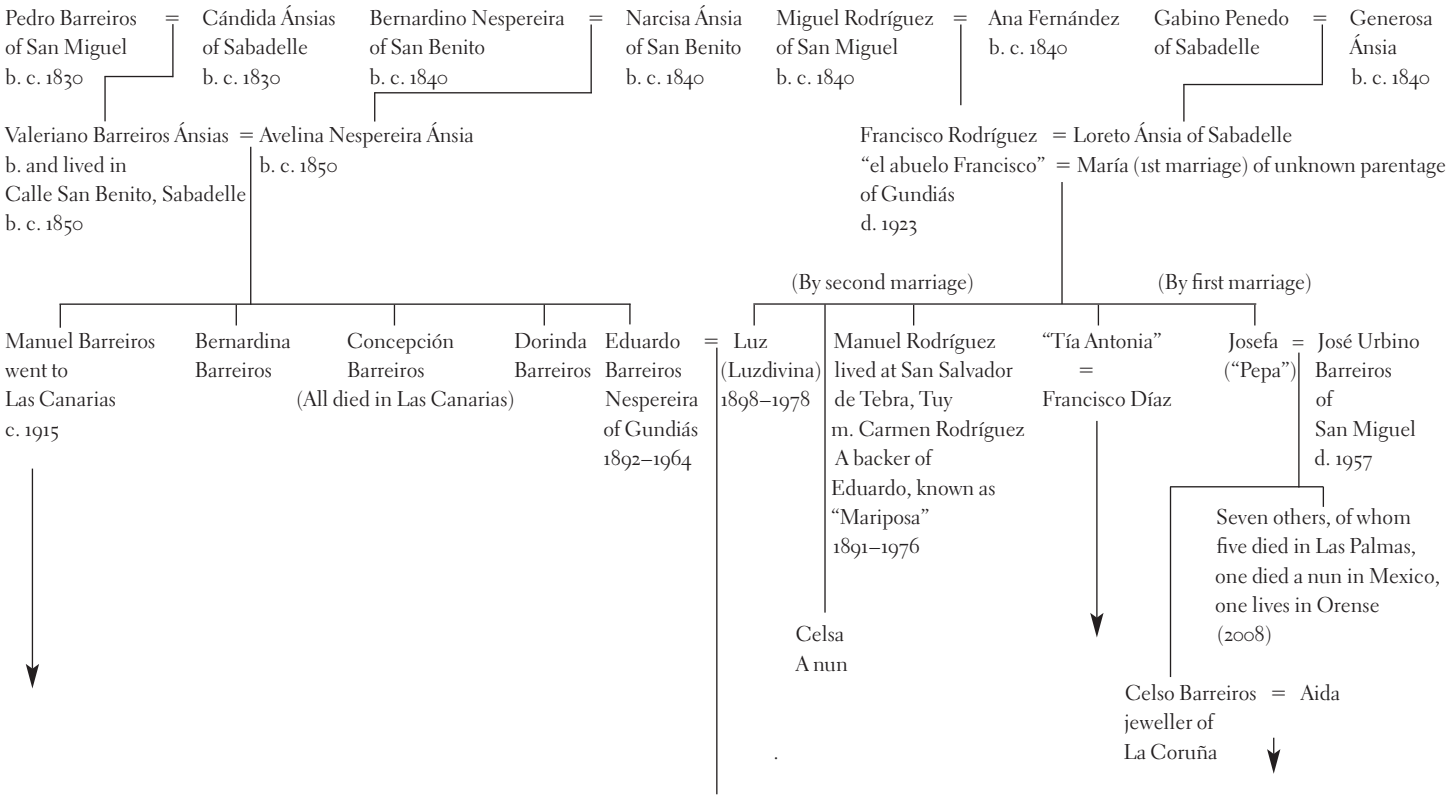
In the fifteen years that I have been living in Cuba I have known many worthwhile people, and I have admired both their patriotism and their loyalty to the regime and to Comandante Fidel, but many of them have ended up saying, "Listen, comrade Barreiros, my distress is great because I cannot freely carry on my profession here and that makes me want to leave as soon as possible. It is a real sadness for me because Cuba is my country, a wonderful country. In every other place I know, the winter is very cold and it costs a lot to keep oneself warm and everything is very different. In addition I have a family, a wife, and children and to leave would cause me terror."

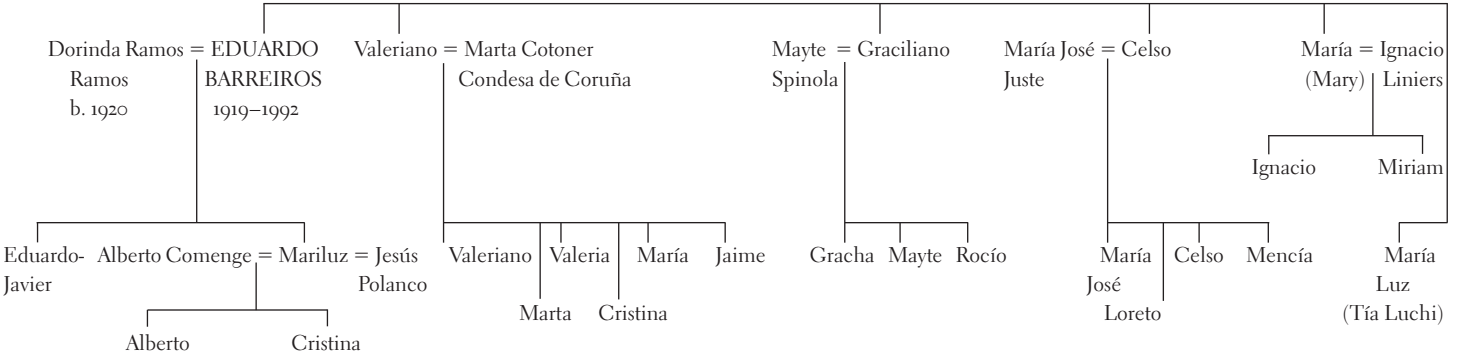
In the house I live in it was necessary to do something to fix the taps in the bathrooms, but I could not find anywhere a small plumber to do what I wanted. The same thing happened to me in respect of mending my shoes.

I have reached the conclusion that if the Government would permit the Cubans to develop their series of small businesses and activities that the population needs that would constitute a great success in various ways: it would give enormous happiness to one very important section of the population; that is, to those who could carry out, and those who could make use of, the services undertaken by the first named; it would put a stop to the idea of leaving of many people, above all young people who would have before them a bigger range of possibilities in this island; it would give an image of openness to the entire world, favouring the aid of people and countries, and of some sectors, which up until now have been a little lukewarm.

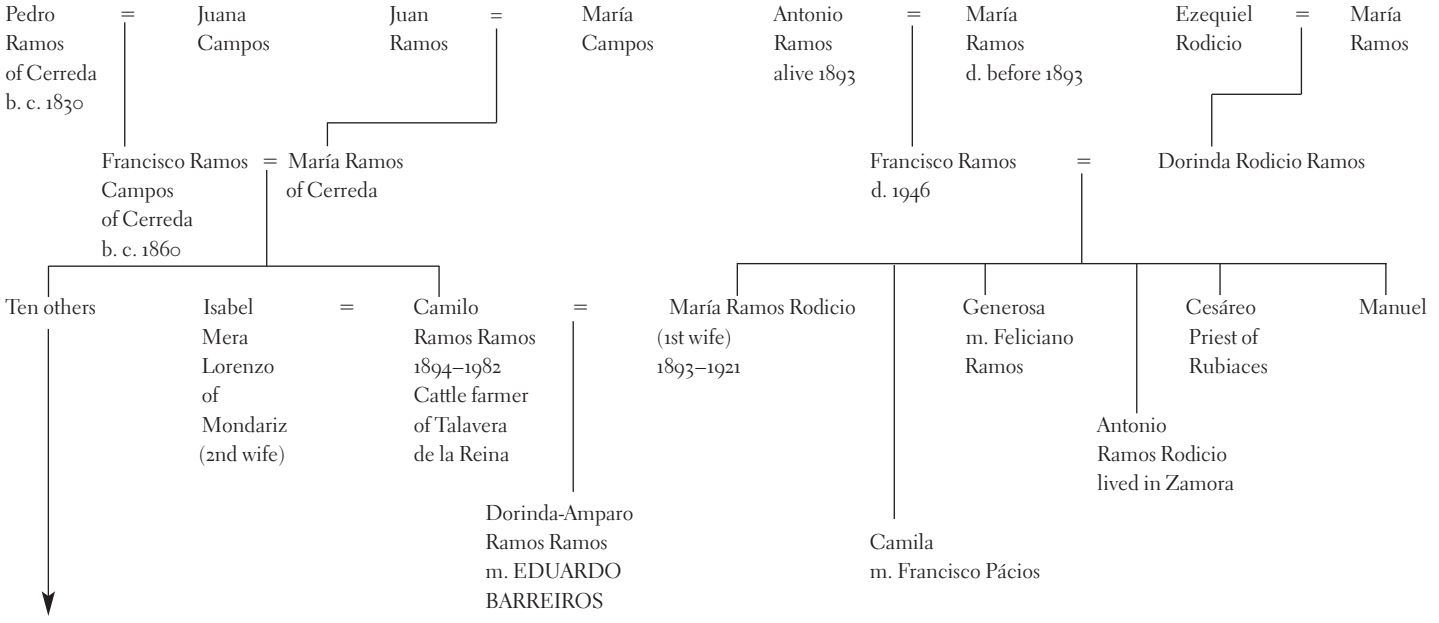
E. Barreiros

GENEALOGY OF EDUARDO BARREIROS


Pedro Barreiros of San Miguel b. c. 1830
Cándida Ánsias of Sabadelle b. c. 1830
Bernardino Nespereira of San Benito b. c. 1840
Narcisa Ánsia of San Benito b. c. 1840
Miguel Rodríguez of San Miguel b. c. 1840
Ana Fernández b. c. 1840
Gabino Penedo of Sabadelle
Generosa Ánsia b. c. 1840
Valeriano Barreiros Ánsias b. and lived in Calle San Benito, Sabadelle b. c. 1850
Avelina Nespereira Ánsia b. c. 1850
Francisco Rodríguez "el abuelo Francisco" of Gundiás d. 1923
Loreto Ánsia of Sabadelle
María (1st marriage) of unknown parentage
(By second marriage)
(By first marriage)
Manuel Barreiros went to Las Canarias c. 1915
Bernardina Barreiros
Concepción Barreiros
Dorinda Barreiros
(All died in Las Canarias)
Eduardo Barreiros Nespereira of Gundiás 1892–1964
Luz (Luzdivina) 1898–1978
Manuel Rodríguez lived at San Salvador de Tebra, Tuy m. Carmen Rodríguez A backer of Eduardo, known as "Mariposa" 1891–1976
"Tía Antonia" = Francisco Díaz
Josefa ("Pepa")
José Urbino Barreiros of San Miguel d. 1957
Celsa A nun
Seven others, of whom five died in Las Palmas, one died a nun in Mexico, one lives in Orense (2008)
Celso Barreiros jeweller of La Coruña
Aida


Dorinda Ramos Ramos b. 1920
= EDUARDO BARREIROS 1919–1992
Valeriano = Marta Cotoner Condesa de Coruña
Mayte Spinola = Graciliano
María José Juste = Celso
María (Mary) = Ignacio Liniers
Ignacio
Miriam
Eduardo-Javier
Alberto
Comenge = Mariluz
= Jesús Polanco
Valeriano
Valeria
María
Jaime
Marta
Cristina
Gracha
Mayte
Rocío
María José Loreto
Celso
Mencía
María Luz (Tía Luchi)
Alberto
Cristina

Genealogy of Dorinda Ramos Ramos



Notes

SHORT TITLES

The following short titles are used in the notes:

Archivo Histórico: Archivo Histórico de la Oficina de Patentes y Marcas.
Banco Bilbao Archive: Archivo del Banco de Bilbao, Bilbao.
Banco de Vizcaya Archive: Archivo del Banco de Vizcaya, Bilbao.
Barreiros Archive: Archivo de la Fundación Eduardo Barreiros, María de Molina 1, Madrid. A full analysis of this archive can be seen in the Spanish edition of this book published in Madrid in March 2007.
BBVA Archive: Archivo del Banco Bilbao Vizcaya Argentaria, Bilbao.
Chillón Archive: Archivo del bufete Pablo Chillón. Papers relating to Eduardo's suspension of payments in 1980.
Entrevista: Interviews with employees who arrived at Villaverde between 1952 and 1968. Typescript stored in the Barreiros Archive.
Feijóo Archives: Personal collection of documents and photographs in the possession of Enrique Feijóo; his collection includes "la primera biografía" of Eduardo Barreiros.
Foreign Office Archives: Stored in the Public Record Office in London, especially FO 371 1939–1958.
Garrigues Archive: Archivo del bufete (law office) Antonio Garrigues.
Suanzes Papers: Collection of papers from the records of the Institute of Industry. Selected by José Luis García Ruiz.
Testimonies: Discussions with the author between January 1, 2002, and December 31, 2005.
Texto 1: Typescript in Eduardo Barreiros's hand, fifty-seven pages that cover 1919–1966, stored in the Barreiros Archive.
Texto 2: Memoir, in Barreiros's hand, about thirty pages, also covering 1919 to 1966 or so. It is similar to Texto 1, but the language is different throughout and there are different anecdotes, different emphases. Barreiros Archive.
Texto 3: Apuntes biográficos. This is a slightly corrected version of Texto 1, also in Barreiros's hand. It is less personal in some ways. Barreiros Archive.

1. THE PEASANTS DO THE REAL WORK

1. Perhaps *lugar* (place) would be a better word in Galicia for the village than *aldea* (hamlet).
2. Not to be confused with a *Castro, castrum.*
3. In a list of Orensanos who stood guard as *milicianos* of the Falange Española Tradicionalista (FET) in the civil war I found a man who combined both surnames: Marcial Feijóo Barreiros (*La Región* [Orense], June 2, 1938, 3). The last abbot of the nearby convento of San Esteban was Father Benito Feijóo.
4. "La Aldea de Casdemiro," a booklet published in the newspaper *El Heraldo de Galicia* in 1890.
5. "Donde combaten todos los vientos y goza de clima saludable": Pascual Madoz, *Diccionario de España Galicia*, rev. ed., vol. 2 (Galicia, 1986), 216.
6. Quoted in Azorín, *El paisaje de España* (Madrid, 1917), 35. See too Entwhistle, *The Spanish Language*, 306.
7. Epton, *Grapes and Granite*, 36.
8. Bell, *Spanish Galicia*, 155.
9. Cela, *Mazurca para dos muertos*, 9.
10. Casares, *Résidente privilégiée*, 24.
11. Martínez Risco, *Manual de historia de Galicia*, 171.
12. J. Anlló, *Estructura y problemas del campo español* (Madrid, 1956), 564. These figures are for 1950 but it is my impression that they apply to what prevailed in 1900 also.
13. Galicia had a quarter of Spain's cows, according to Carr, *Spain*, 403, n. 1.
14. See Fidalgo Santamariña, *O Afiador.* This useful work contains a vocabulary of Barallete.
15. Walter Starkie recalled meeting one such from Carballo "in the hills near Orense" whose father and grandfather had been in the profession and had travelled all over Europe in the business. Starkie's friend had a flute with ten or eleven notes made of boxwood, possession of which was a sign that he could geld pigs. Even in 2004 I met an afilador in the district of Cruz del Rayo in Madrid. I asked where he came from. "Orense" was his predictable reply.

2. THE RODRÍGUEZES OF GUNDIÁS

1. Eduardo in his speech on receiving an honorary degree in Havana 1992; see páginas sueltas, I, 36, Barreiros Archive.
2. Testimony of Marta Cotoner, wife of Valeriano, in 2003.
3. See Entwhistle, *Spanish Language*, 304ff. On page 306 Entwhistle discusses the Orensano dialect.
4. *Cachelos* are potatoes cooked in water with the peel.
5. Lady Holland, *Spanish Journal*, 219.
6. Those who helped me in sketching this picture of Luzdivina Barreiros included Domingo Fernández, Graciliano Barreiros, and the Revda. Hermana María Luz Barreiros.

7. Testimony of María Luz Rufo Rodríguez.
8. Letter to the author from Manuel's grandson Rogelio Rufo, February 9, 2005.
9. The motto of Camille Desmoulins in the French Revolution.

3. THE BARREIROSES OF SABADELLE

1. Eduardo records this meeting in Texto 1, 29.
2. "Eleven Songs of Joan Zorro," *Modern Language Review* 15 (January 1920). Zorro perhaps lived in the thirteenth century. Aubrey Bell thought this by far the most beautiful of the *baladas* in the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana*.
3. Pardo Bazán, *Los Pazos de Ulloa*, 66–67.
4. The sister-in-law was Marta Cotoner.
5. This is obvious from a study of the documents attached to Duro Peña, *El monasterio de San Esteban de Ribas de Sil*.
6. Testimony of the Revda. Hermana María Luz Barreiros.
7. Comment of Eduardo in Texto 1, 2.
8. Dorinda, in the poetry of the Earl of Dorset ca. 1670, was the mistress of King James II—that is, Catherine Sedley, countess of Dorchester.
9. See the Xunta de Galicia's *Casas de Indianos* (Santiago, 2000), 327ff.
10. Testimony of José Fernández Quintas of Orense, in 2000.
11. Testimony of Eduardo-Javier Barreiros.
12. Castelao, *Things*, 49.
13. Juan Francisco Santana Domínguez, *Estudio microhistórico de San Lorenzo de Tamaraceite*, 52.
14. The *lareira* (kitchen) is an essential part of every Gallego peasant house.
15. Azorín, *El paisaje de España*, 29–30.

4. "¡GUAGUA, GUAGUA!"

1. In 1925, 169,389 tons of bananas were exported. See Antonio de Bethencourt, *Historia de Canarias* (Las Palmas, 1995), 411.
2. A recent census declared that there were over 2,000 English people living in the Canaries in 1920 or so.
3. Gimeno Valledor and Roca Maseda, *Los Dodge españoles*.
4. See Juan Francisco Santana Domínguez, *Estudio microhistórico de San Lorenzo de Tamaraceite*, 52.
5. Texto 1, 6; Texto 1, 3.
6. Texto 1, 6.
7. Texto 2, 4.
8. Testimony of Santiago Fernández Baquero.
9. *Guagua* is also the word for a bus in Cuba, one more link between the islands and the Americas.

5. GIVE TO HIM WHO ASKS

1. Emilia Pardo Bazán, *De mi tierra*, quoted in Azorín, *El paisaje de España* (Madrid, 1917), 36.
2. The other two were those of Andrés Perille Orozco, known as *mil negocios*, and Auto Industria.
3. See J. F. J. Kuipers, *Buses on the Continent*, Locomotion Papers 104 (London, 1977), 15.
4. Texto 1, 8.
5. See Jordi Casas Ymbert, *La dictadura de Primo de Rivera* (Barcelona, 1976); Texto 1, 229.
6. Epton, *Grapes and Granite*, 87.
7. Testimony of Fr. Manuel Ramos Ramos in *Semana* (Madrid), c. 1965.
8. Texto 2, 4.
9. This street became known after 1936 as the Calle Capitán Eloy after Eloy Álvarez Martín, who was the first Orensano to be killed in action in the civil war, dying in Asturias on August 5.
10. Texto 1, 2.
11. Angelita taught only primary school education. See Cámara Orense, *Orense 100 años*, 185. Eduardo's comment is in Texto 2.
12. Texto 2, 10.
13. A map of the town issued by the *ayuntamiento* of Orense in 1925 does not show that house. A later document in Algún Documento Empresarial (ADE) 04, in the Barreiros Archive, shows that permission to build Calle Cardenal Quevedo 5 was given only in August 1929.
14. Testimony of Revda. Hermana María Luz Barreiros.
15. Rogelio Fernández had taken the train as a boy to Vigo, and stowed away in a boat to La Habana, where he worked by day and studied by night in the Jesuit school at Belén. Then he went to Chicago, where he worked making conveyor belts, and returned then to Galicia an *americophil*, one who always respected U.S. power.
16. *La Región* (Orense), March 27, 1930, for example.
17. García Ruiz, *Sobre ruedas.*
18. The Dodge would later play a determining part in the life of Eduardo.

6. A CLEAR, BRIGHT TOWN

1. Annette Meakin, *Galicia: The Switzerland of Spain* (London, 1909).
2. Ibid., 36.
3. The Jew who came to Christ at night and evoked the discourse on Christian rebirth narrated in John 3:1–15. He later helped Joseph of Arimathea to give Christ reburial.
4. Cámara Orense, *Orense 100 años*, 176.
5. The cathedral of Orense began to be built in 1132, Santiago c. 1074, Lugo 1129, Tuy 1141, Mondoñedo 1150.
6. The Suevi dominated Galicia 412–585 A.D.

7. This description comes from *La Región* (Orense), April 5, 1930. See also *La Región*, March 28, 1939.
8. Bell, *Spanish Galicia*, 131–32, 141.

7. PEOPLE LIVED FOR POLITICS

1. *El Obrero* (Orense), July 20, 1935.
2. Comment of his sister-in-law Marta Cotoner.
3. Torrente Ballester, *Filomeno, a mi pesar*, 136.
4. *La Región* (Orense), June 18, 1936: "El alma de España está dormida en una cripta de El Escorial desde Felipe II. . . . Templemos el corazón y el acero. ¡Por la reconquista del alma de España!"
5. Vicente Risco, *Manual de historia de Galicia* (Vigo, 192), 169.
6. José Calvo Sotelo, *Mis servicios al Estado* (Madrid, 1935), 6.
7. See García Lombardero, *La agricultura y el estancamiento económico de Galicia en la España del antiguo régimen*, 90ff., and also J. Durán, *Historia de caciques, bandos e ideologías en la Galicia no urbana* (Madrid, 1972), 103–18. See too *La Región* (Orense), September 1, 1938; and Álvarez, *Memorias*, I, 40.
8. *La Región* (Orense), January 30, 1930.
9. For this regime, see Ben Ami, *The Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera in Spain*.
10. *El Sol*, April 15, 1931.
11. See Chapter 5 for the purchase of the Dodge.
12. Testimony of Fernández Quintas.
13. Total votes: 3,365,700.
14. Total votes: 2,052,500.
15. Total votes: 3,118,900.
16. Joaquín Arrarás, *Historia de la Segunda República Española*, II (Madrid, 1964), 480.
17. "Discurso en el Cine Monumental" (Speech in the Cine Monumental), October 15, 1933, in *El Debate* (Madrid), October 17, 1933.
18. Speech in the Cine Europa, October 3, 1933, cited in Moradiellos García, *1936*, 57.
19. Cited in Bennassar, *Franco*, 93.
20. "El alzamiento de 1934 fue imperdonable . . . la izquierda española perdió hasta la sombra de autoridad moral para condenar la rebelión de 1936," *España, ensayo de historia contemporánea* (Madrid, 1989), 363.
21. Pimlott, *Hugh Dalton*, 234.
22. Texto 2, 9.
23. Ibid.
24. Rodrigo Royo in *SP*, in Feijóo Archives.
25. Martin Blinkhorn, *Carlism and Crisis in Spain, 1931–1939* (Cambridge, 1975), 208.
26. Ibid., 210.
27. Alfonso Bullón de Mendoza, *José Calvo Sotelo* (Barcelona, 2004), 565.
28. Cited in Ximenez de Sandoval, *José Antonio: Biografía apasionada* (Barcelona, 1941), 326.

29. Ibid., 339.
30. Bullón de Mendoza, *José Calvo Sotelo*, 534.
31. Ibid., 545.
32. Comment of Fernández Quintas.
33. He had begun his political life with the monarchy, being named by Canalejas civil governor of Barcelona as early as 1911.
34. Joaquín Arrarás, *Historia de la Segunda República* (Madrid, 1956), IV, 27, 37, the last quotation from *El Socialista* (Madrid), February 9, 1936.
35. Quoted in Bullón de Mendoza, *José Calvo Sotelo*, 564.
36. Quoted in ibid., 563, 565; *La Región* (Orense), February 6, 1936.
37. C. Niceto Alcalá Zamora, *Memorias* (Mexico, 1977), 351, argued that fraud probably affected the results in eighty seats.
38. Summary by Julio Prada in Cámara Orense, *Orense 100 años*, 89; see Bullón de Mendoza, *José Calvo Sotelo*, for Calvo Sotelo's excellent speeches on the subject in the Cortes.
39. Cámara Orense, *Orense 100 años* (Orense, 2000), 89.
40. *La Región* (Orense), April 30, 1934.
41. *La Región* (Orense), May 9, 1936.
42. *La Región* (Orense), May 19, 1936.
43. *La Región* (Orense), June 4, 1936.
44. *Historia de Ourense*, 323; *La Región* (Orense), June 13, 1936.
45. Texto 1, 13.
46. Evidence of Fernández Quintas, conversation with the author, 2001, 2003.
47. Alfonso Bozzo, *Los partidos políticos y la autonomía en Galicia*, 305ff.
48. Carlos Fernández Santander, *El exilio gallego de la Guerra Civil* (La Coruña, 2002), I, 25.
49. Details in Bozzo, *Los partidos políticos*, 362.

8. THERE CAME FORTH FROM THE SOIL ARMED MEN

1. Cited in Talón, *La guerra civil en Euskadi*, I, 93.
2. See Prada Rodríguez, *Ourense*.
3. Cited in Talón, *La guerra civil en Euskadi*, I, 93.
4. Prada Rodríguez, *Ourense*, 73.
5. Ibid.
6. The distressing executions in Soulecín are discussed in Emilio Silva and Santiago Macías's *Las fosas de Franco*.
7. Bailarín hid in the mountains between Orense and León with a band of about thirty. His end is disputed but it seems that he sought to exchange his own pardon for the lives of his friends. He could not fulfil his promises and was shot. See J. Casanova et al., *Morir, matar, sobrevivir*, 215.
8. Francisco Moreno Gómez in ibid., 214. Moreno talks of "una represión demoledora apenas estudiada y desconocida, pero de la que se poseen indicios escandalosos . . . una oleada de huidos a los montes, tal vez la mayor de toda España" (a devastating repres-

sion hardly studied and known, but of which we have scandalous signs . . . a wave of people who fled to the mountains, perhaps the largest in Spain).
9. Cela, *Mazurca para dos muertos*, 135.
10. Saña, *Franquismo sin mitos*, 101.
11. Ibid., 101–2.
12. This occurred on September 17, 1936.
13. *La Región* (Orense), August 12, 1936.
14. *La Región* (Orense), August 10, 1936.
15. *La Región* (Orense), July 30, 1936.
16. *La Región* (Orense), August 11, 1936 .
17. Abella Bermejo, *La vida cotidiana durante la guerra civil*, 97.
18. Prada Rodríguez, *Ourense*, 570, makes a good summary. See too the map on p. 602, and 610.

9. RED BERET

1. Texto 1, 13.
2. *Semana* (Madrid), January 22, 1966.
3. Testimony of Alicia, Gundiás, 2003.
4. Texto 1, 3. The name "Alto del León" was changed after the war to Alto de los Leones to commemorate the young Falangistas, new "leones" who had fought there in 1936.
5. This derives from the first life of Eduardo written by an Orensano and collaborator of his over many years, Feijóo (of the family of the Benedictine writer). Feijóo says that Eduardo told him this, and his text was corrected by Valeriano (conversation with the author).
6. See Martínez Bande, *La marcha sobre Madrid*, 80ff., and especially 95ff. He refers to the requetés as "fuerzas imprecisas" (p. 95, n. 87).
7. Texto 1. I saw one of these "chabolas" near the road in a visit there in 2004.
8. For Orense in the war, see Prada Rodríguez, *De la agitación republicana a la repression franquista* and *Ourense, 1934–1939*.
9. *La Región* (Orense), January 9, 1937. This newspaper shows that Eduardo senior was called to present himself in 1937 on January 19, January 30, February 22, March 2, March 9, March 31, April 11, April 20, April 28 , August 9, and July 14, and in 1938 on January 4, March 8, March 16, March 24, March 25, April 9, April 1, April 17, and April 27, being then the senior *miliciano* in his list. His activity seems quite irregular, no doubt because of the bus company. This derives from the files of *La Región* (Orense), 1936–39. See too *La Región*, September 17, 1938, p. 2, for a list of these *caballeros/milicianos*.
10. Prada Rodríguez (*De la agitación republicana*, 171) recalls that in relation to the *caballeros* most of the testimonies insist that "their fundamental mission was to maintain order, including necessitating sometimes a clash with falangistas."
11. Abella Bermejo, *La vida cotidiana durante la guerra civil*, 321, 322.
12. Ibid., 69–71.
13. *La Región* (Orense), August 31, 1936.
14. *Historia de Ourense*, 328.

15. M. Casares, *Résidente privilégiée*, 41. Castelao had been an important member of the Xeneracion Nós, for he alone of the group had grown up speaking Galego. He was also an unusual example of a good writer who was also a politician, becoming a deputy twice. He escaped from the repression in Galicia in July 1936 being in Madrid to oversee the implementation of the statute of autonomy.
16. Axel Casal was found dead in a ditch on the road to Cacheiras with a bullet in his head.
17. "O Marxismo, a doctrina máis tristeira, mas moura que endexamáis se inventou no mundo," *Nós*, April 15, 1933, quoted in Casares, *Résidente privilégiée*, 83.
18. See the interview of Otero Pedrayo with Maribel Outeriño where he talked of the reasons for Risco's change (Casares, *Résidente privilégiée*, 117). The case of the novelist Baroja comes to mind: he wrote an article in *El Diario de Navarra*, and that was republished by *La Región* (Orense), September 1, 1936. It talks of "the pedantic schoolmaster Marcelino Domingo, the snake named Azaña, the judaical, adipose jew Ossorio, the absurd Constitution," ending that he hopes that "this tumour or this abcess of lies can be cut out swiftly by the sword of the general." Marañón was much in the same position: he said in February 1938 in Lisbon that he was completely opposed to the Communist movement in Spain, and that the regime of 1931 had fallen apart. "In the same way, socialists and republicans who constituted the popular front failed. Nothing can save the Republic. Those like me who have, in some form, responsibility for the coming of the Republic must now work . . . to serve the nation. I believe completely in the nationalist victory which I consider certain, inevitable, and resonant. . . . I believe that, after Franco's military victory, there will be no internal struggles, on the contrary, Spain will remain stronger and more unified and marching towards a better destiny."
19. *La Región* (Orense), May 10, 1937.
20. FO 371 x MOO524, Foreign Office Archives. Eccles was later minister of education and first chairman of the new British Library.
21. Alas, the figure was an understimate: Fr. A. Montero named 140 priests murdered in the bishopric of Oviedo. Montero, *La persecución religiosa en España, 1936–1939* (Madrid, 1961), 764.
22. *La Región* (Orense), July 4, 1937.
23. *La Región* (Orense), August 9, 1936.
24. *La Región* (Orense), August 16, 1936.
25. *La Región* (Orense), July 24, 1937.
26. See Alfredo Cid Rumbao, *Celanova* (Vigo, s.d.), 86.
27. *La Región* (Orense), September 10, 1937.
28. *La Región* (Orense), August 27, 1936.
29. *La Región* (Orense), October 22, 1936.
30. Abella Bermejo, *La vida cotidiana*, 242.
31. *La Región* (Orense), February 22, 1937.
32. Valín Fernández, *Laicismo, educación y represión en la España del siglo XIX* , 88–89. Translation mine.
33. Prada Rodríguez, *Ourense*, 187.

10. THIS CRUEL STRUGGLE

1. *La Región* (Orense), October 28, 1936.
2. Texto 2, 19. "The worst zone was that of Grado ['the passage of Grado'] to Oviedo, for it was necessary to cross through the front line at night and with the lights out, since the convoys fired with cannons, and Oviedo was practically surrounded by the Red Army. The danger between vehicles was considerable, it was necessary to keep a distance of about 20 or 30 metres, I remember that one night, during one of those difficult crossings, I saw a bus driving in the middle of the convoy blown into the air. The rest of us were forced to drive around on the road side and gather those soldiers who had not been killed."
3. Texto 2, 11.
4. Texto 1, 7.
5. Texto 2, 11.
6. Texto 2, 12.
7. Texto 1, 13.
8. Texto 1, 10.
9. Francisco Martínez Bande, *La Batalla de Pozoblanco y el cierre de la Bolsa de Mérida* (Madrid, 1981), 224.
10. These forces were the first batallion of Palma, fifteenth of Mérida, and the 285th of Tenerife, a *tercio* of *requetés* of Burgos-Sangüesa, as well as a bandera of the FET de Soria, II de Burgos, y General Mola, and three artillery groups.
11. Martínez Bande, *La Batalla*, 226 ff.
12. See Ángel David Martín Rubio, "La venganza de la república," *Aportes* (Madrid), 54. The mayor of Carrascalejo, Crescencio Álvarez, his four sons aged between seven months and fourteen years, as well as his wife, were all shot. Martín Rubio has a tragic description of the eight miles' march from San Benito to Magacela and then another twelve on to Campanario.
13. *Semana* (Madrid), January 22, 1966.
14. Comment of the Revda. Hermana María Luz Barreiros.
15. Texto 1.
16. Diary written 1945, p. 11, Barreiros Archive.
17. Texto 2, 15.
18. Texto 1, 18: "My industrial ambition was born when I realised that our country had to resolve its own necessities."
19. Testimony of the Revda. Hermana María Luz Barreiros.
20. Payne, *Politics and the Military in Modern Spain*, 120.
21. Abella Bermejo, *La vida cotidiana durante la guerra civil*, 318.
22. *La Región* (Orense), January 28, 1939.
23. *La Región* (Orense), March 28, 1939.
24. Ibid.
25. *Ya* (Madrid), November 3, 1991.
26. Testimony of Marta Cotoner.

27. Testimony of Fernández Baquero, 2002.
28. Abella Bermejo, *La vida cotidiana*, 353.

11. ESTABLISHING A NATIONAL SYNDICALIST SYSTEM

1. In the 1970s, Eduardo gave Losada one of the first cars (*turismos*) that he made.
2. Texto 2, 8.
3. Feijóo, *La Primera Biografía*, 1, Feijóo Archives.
4. Production of wheat before 1936 was over 4,000 metric tons a year; in 1941–1943 it was less than 3,000 (*Economist*, February 12, 1944). The same kind of figure could be found for most cereals except for rye, which by 1943 was registering a slight increase over 1935 figures.
5. Comment of Juan Luis Cebrián to the author.
6. Texto 2, 13–14.
7. *Para andar un automóvil / Precisa de carbón / Como un fígón / Pues lleva cocina / Que se deshollina* (sweeps) / *Y da un tufo* (smell) *de perdición*. J. L. Cebrián, lecture at University of Corunna, April 23, 2002.
8. Lecture at University of Corunna, April 23, 2002.
9. Texto 2, 290.
10. That is, an Orense vehicle matriculated with the no. 1513.
11. Texto 1, 26.
12. Letter of Eduardo of January 20, 1965, to his brothers, Barreiros Archive.
13. See text of Eduardo's diary, January 1945, Barreiros Archive.
14. Eduardo Barreiros letter to M. Rodríguez, January 22, 1941, Barreiros Archive.
15. This Celso had seven brothers and sisters, all born in Gundiás, but later all dispersed, mostly to the Canaries. Though Celso was six years older, he had been at school for a time with Eduardo in San Miguel del Campo. Celso did his military service in Orense before the war, and so lived a year in a flat above Eduardo's workshop in the Avenida Buenos Aires. He was treated "as if he had been another member of the family and was very grateful for that and never forgot" (testimony of his widow, 2004). In the civil war, he joined the Nationalists, fought at Brunete, and then was wounded. He was thus a "mutilado de la guerra." He too lent Eduardo money just as his uncle Manolo did.
16. Diary of 1945, 12.
17. Texto 2, 15.
18. Suárez Fernández, *Francisco Franco y su tiempo*, III, 47.
19. Ibid., IV, 82; *La Región* (Orense), December 23, 1946.
20. Evidence of José Luis Mariño, 2003.
21. Hillgarth to the Foreign Office, November 17, 1941, FO 371, Foreign Office Archives.
22. Segura to Robert Hankey, British charge d'affaires in Madrid, January 18, 1950, FO 371, Foreign Office Archives.
23. FO 371, Foreign Office Archives.
24. *La Región* (Orense), April 18, 1939, p. 1.
25. *La Región* (Orense), May 3, 1939.
26. Carlos Fernández Santander, *El exilio gallego de la guerra civil* (Corunna, 2002), 430.

27. Fernández, *Franquismo*, 328.
28. Stanley Payne points out advisedly that one of the most remarkable features of Spain after 1939 was the reintroduction of religious rites to most formal aspects of life: Christmas with its Belens, Lenten lectures and spiritual exercises, novenas, large processions at Holy Week, the Viaticum and eucharistic processions, and rosaries at dawn. Amando de Miguel named this "Fascismo Frailuno." Earlier, the wit Agustin de Foxá called it *nacional-seminarismo*.
29. *Palabras del caudillo* (Madrid, 1943), 527.
30. Stanley Payne, *The Franco Regime* (London, 1987), 246.
31. Comment to the author.
32. Sir V. Mallet to London, April 4, 1940, FO 371, Foreign Office Archives.

12. THE RICH GIRL OF THE VILLAGE

1. Letter of January 20, 1965, from Eduardo Barreiros to his brothers, Barreiros Archive.
2. Letter of Domingo Fernández to the author, January 23, 2005.
3. Texto 1, 21.
4. Figures from ADE 35, Barrieros Archive.
5. Texto 1, 32.
6. Aranguren, *La mujer en la sombra*, 257.
7. Texto 2, 26.
8. Texto 1, 33.
9. This correspondence remains in the Barreiros Archive.
10. *ABC* (Madrid), October 2, 1972.
11. Texto 1, 36.
12. Ibid.
13. Texto 1, 26.
14. Suárez Fernández, *Francisco Franco y su tiempo*, III, 375.
15. ADE 1/004, Barreiros Archive. The battery cost 328 pesetas!
16. British embassy, cited in Mallet's memorandum, September 17, 1945, FO 371, Foreign Office Archive.
17. The decree abolishing the Fascist salute stated, "The salute of the upraised arm and open-hand salute sprang from Iberian roots and was simultaneously adopted by other people. [!!!] But circumstances deriving from the great conflict have resulted in giving a false interpretation to what was a sign of friendship and cordiality; imputing to it a character and value quite different from what it actually represents. This fact makes it advisable as a patriotic duty to abandon these forms of salute" (The British embassy quoted in Mallet's memorandum, September 17, 1945, Public Record Office, London).
18. Eduardo Barreiros, letter to Elías González, August 7, 1946, Barreiros Archive.

13. MARCHING ALONE

1. See Fernández, *Franquismo y transición política en Galicia*, 228ff.; and Bayod, *Franco visto*, 273.

2. See *La Voz de Galicia* for August–September 1946.
3. See Chapter 1.
4. The Standard was made at the Standard Motor Company of Coventry, England. The company had been founded by Reginald William Maudslay (1871–1934). The best-looking Standard Special, or SS (afterwards the Jaguar), of the 1930s usually had Avon coachwork, and I assume that this was one of them. There were thirteen other types of motor car of this name, however; eight in the United States, the rest in Germany.
5. I suspect that this Hansa was left behind after the war by the Germans (letter from Eduardo to his brothers, January 20, 1965, in páginas sueltas, 7, Barreiros Archive).
6. Testimony of Celso Barreiros.
7. ADE 04, 56, Barreiros Archive.
8. ADE 04, 51, Barreiros Archive.
9. They would also sell Spain 120,000 tons of maize in 1947 and 200,000 in 1948, assuming a more modest trade surplus of 500,000 pesetas.
10. Suárez Fernández, *Francisco Franco y su tiempo*, IV, 134. See also the despatch of Sir Rex Leeper, the British ambassador to Argentina, of October 31, 1946, FO 371, Foreign Office Archives.
11. Reported by Sir V. Mallet, February 2, 1946, FO 371, Foreign Office Archives.
12. British Cabinet Papers, March 4, 1946.
13. *The Times (London)*, March 7, 1946.
14. Mallet's farewell despatch of December 23, 1946, FO 371, Foreign Office Archives.
15. The civil governor, Muñoz Calero; the military governor, General Prado Villamayor; the president of the Diputación, Pérez Serrantes; the mayor, Serantes Morais; and the deputy *jefe del movimiento*, Martín Esperanza.
16. Mallet, April 24, 1947, FO 371, Foreign Office Archives.
17. *La Región* (Orense), December 23, 1946; Texto 1, 34; Casanova et al., *Morir, matar, sobrevivir*, 216.
18. Texto 1, 36.
19. Texto 1, 356; also Domingo Fernández, speech in the *Boletín de la Empresa* of June 15, 1967.

14. TRANSFORM YOUR CAR TO DIESEL

1. Testimony of Ripollés, November 2002.
2. Domingo Fernández speech, in *Boletín de la Empresa*, June 15, 1967.
3. Testimony of Ripollés, November 2002.
4. Texto 1, 38.
5. The history of the black market remains to be studied effectively.
6. Ricart had since the war (1946) been director of a centre for technical studies in INI's ENASA and had contracted several designers, mostly Italians from Alfa Romeo, to design new vehicles.
7. Texto 2, 21.
8. Texto 2, 6.

9. Texto 2, 23.
10. *La Región* (Orense), March 26, 1947.
11. *ABC* (Madrid), January 1, 1952.
12. Texto 1, 18.
13. Eduardo wrote (Texto 1, 29), "The line yielded no dividends and therefore it had no future interest. Proof of this was that, several years on, even after giving Papa six new buses, every year our accounts closed with losses, until we sold up for six million pesetas, money which was invested in shares belonging to my mother, and also, among other things, in an apartment in Madrid."
14. Testimony of Graciliano Barreiros.
15. The numbers showed that 295,202 voted in blanco, 25,699 did not vote.
16. Consul Bishop, July 1948, National Archive, Washington, D.C.
17. Senator for South Dakota.
18. D. Howard to Foreign Office, February 25, 1948, FO 317, Foreign Office Archives.
19. Dr. Juan Negrín in the *New York Herald Tribune*, April 15, 1948.
20. Gerald Brenan, *The Face of Spain* (London, 1950), 15.

15. GOOD-BYE RIVERS, GOOD-BYE FOUNTAINS, GOOD-BYE LITTLE STREAMS

1. Hartmut Heine, *La oposición política al franquismo* (Barcelona, 1983), 470.
2. The last was a comment of Graciliano Barreiros to the author in 2001.
3. Íñigo Cavero, lecture at the University of Corunna, April 22, 2002.
4. Payne, *The Franco Regime*, 392.
5. SEAT was associated with FIAT (Fabrica Italiana di Automobili Torino) legally by comercial agreements. Thus FIAT was a shareholder of SEAT. See García Ruiz, *Sobre ruedas*, 54.
6. Corley-Smith memorandum, January 15, 1955, FO 371, Foreign Office Archives.
7. Corley-Smith to Vincent Tewson, September 27, 1955, FO 371, Foreign Office Archives.
8. Perkins sold its engines to manufacturers of lorries or tractors such as Bedford Austin or Massey.
9. ADE 05/370, Barreiros Archive.
10. Recollection of Graciliano Barreiros.
11. ADE 1/011, Barreiros Archive.
12. ADE 1/011, Barreiros Archive.
13. British embassy report, FO 371, Foreign Office Archives.
14. Ibid.
15. *Foreign Relations of the United States*, vol. 4 (Washington, D.C., 1951), 775, 785. The word "urgently" was put in as an afterthought. See National Security document NS 72/4, p. 789. The National Security Council established in the White House has been the president's source of defence and foreign policy advice since 1948.
16. *La Región* (Orense), September 4, 1949.

17. British embassy report, FO 371, Foreign Office Archives.
18. J. H. Burns in RG.33 Sec. Def., Box 20, January 11, 1950, in National Archive, Washington, D.C.
19. Franco to Franco Maronotti, March 23, 1950, as told to Sir Victor Mallet in Rome, FO 371, Foreign Office Archives.
20. This was Emanuel Shinwell, June 27, 1950.
21. Thirty-nine countries voting in favour, ten voting against (including the USSR, Mexico, and Israel), and eleven abstaining (including Britain and France).
22. Sir Jock Balfour to London, March 4, 1951, FO 371, Foreign Office Archives.
23. Balfour, March 10, to Foreign Office, FO 371, Foreign Office Archives. Governor Dewey said much the same: "When my country is in peril, I am not too fussy about the people who will defeat the enemy."
24. See FO 371/96185, Foreign Office Archives.
25. British embassy report, January 17, 1952, FO 371, Foreign Office Archives.

16. A GOOD SOURCE OF INCOME

1. Algún Documento Personal (ADP) 1/015, Barreiros Archive.
2. Dragados had been founded in 1941 by José Junquera, Ignacio Villalonga, and Ildefonso González-Fierro,the matchbox millionaire. It began to be a success after 1943. See Torres, *Los 100 empresarios españoles del siglo XX*, 358.
3. ADE 1/021, Barreiros Archive.
4. Eduardo Barreiros to Valeriano Barreiros, April 1, 1951, Barreiros Archive.
5. Valeriano to Eduardo, April 14, 1951, Barreiros Archive.
6. Patent 198,618, Archivo Histórico, cited in García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 214.
7. Ibid., 215.
8. Expediente de nombre comercial no. 27,975, in ibid., 238. This patent was granted on April 28, 1952.
9. *El Ideal Gallego* (Corunna), August 11, 1951.
10. *Hoja del Lunes*, September 3, 1951.
11. *ABC* (Madrid), November 1, 1951.
12. *El Ideal Gallego* (Corunna), November 28, 1951.
13. ADE 35, Barreiros Archive.
14. García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 131.
15. Summary of application made by Nicolás Gall Andreu to the Ministry of Industry, February 16, 1948, in the Suanzes Papers. In the family it was always supposed that Villaverde in the past had made mattresses, and perhaps they did on occasion, but the evidence for the industrial activity is clear in the papers of the Ministry of Industry.
16. Commentary of Antonio González to Mario Gamarra.
17. *Informaciones* (Madrid), December 26, 1951.
18. Commentary of Juan Gayá.
19. Testimony of Graciliano Barreiros.
20. Márquez Paz, *Orto y ocaso de una empresa*, 25–26, 29.

21. This was in ADE 39, Barreiros Archive, but García Ruiz discusses it too (*¡Es una motor español!*, 132).
22. *Ya* (Madrid), December 31, 1951.
23. Páginas sueltas, AAA, Barreiros Archive. This was probably written in 1966.
24. The Suanzes Papers enable us to determine these dates.
25. García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 285.
26. ADE, 40, Barreiros Archive.
27. Cámara de comercio Orense, *Orense 100 años*, 146.
28. Prada Rodríguez, *Ourense*, 345.
29. *La Región* (Orense), August 10, 1952, p. 2. Others would have said that nearly as significant was the visit of Franco to the capital in September 1952 to celebrate the inauguration of the new railway station. For a hallucinatory picture, see Risco's improbable panegyric "Franco en Orense," in *La Región*, September 24, 1952: "Todo breve—nuestro tiempo es así—pero hondo—España y Franco son así."

17. "MADRID! MADRID!"

1. British embassy, November 13, 1957, FO 371, Foreign Office Archives.
2. Epton, *Madrid*, 161.
3. Abella Bermejo, *La vida cotidiana durante la guerra civil*, 234.
4. Henry Hankey (1914–1999) was the second son of the long-lasting first secretary of the British Cabinet, Maurice Hankey.
5. British embassy report, 1954, FO 371, Foreign Office Archives.
6. Jay Allen was a brilliant journalist who worked in Spain during the civil war and who never completed his biography of Queen Isabel II.
7. Suárez Fernández, *Francisco Franco y su tiempo*, III, 22.
8. San Román, *Ejército e industria*, 60.
9. When the war came, Suanzes, then manager of a factory owned by Boetticher and Navarro, considered inaction, but then his neighbour Santiago García de Viñuesa Díez was murdered and he moved to his mother's house in Ramón de La Cruz 13. There he was arrested and imprisoned in a *checa*, with his brother, Luis, and Francisco Dópico, but he was released thanks to the intervention of the Republican general Masquelet. He then took refuge in the Polish embassy, alongside Eduardo González Gallarza (Minister of Air, 1945–67), the future general Muñoz Grandes (on another floor) and Luis Galinsoga (future editor of *La Vanguardia*). His family of ten lived on in the Calle Ramón de la Cruz. Suanzes eventually escaped to Valencia, and then fled on a French cargo ship to Marseilles, whence he took a train to Irún, and thence to Salamanca, where he presented himself to Franco.
10. Schwartz and González, *Una historia del Instituto Nacional de Industria*, 201.
11. Chapter 2 of Antonio Gómez Mendoza's *De mitos y milagros* is dedicated to Suanzes.
12. Sirvent in Pedro Schwartz et al., *Una historia del instituto nacional de industria* (Madrid, 1978), 321.
13. Ballestero, *Juan Antonio Suanzes*, 279–80.

14. *Historia* 16, 6 (October 1976).
15. Payne, *The Franco Regime*, 62.
16. Testimony of Celso, January 12, 2001.
17. This was a statement of Horacio Pérez Vázquez, who went there in 1955 to talk to Eduardo.
18. Texto 1, 42.
19. *Boletín de la Empresa*, August 7, 1965, Barreiros Archive.
20. Márquez Paz, *Orto y ocaso de una empresa*, 290; ADE 1/050, Barreiros Archive.
21. Eduardo to Marino Gómez Santos in *Pueblo* (Madrid), March 11, 1966.
22. Testimony of Mariluz Barreiros.
23. Eduardo to Juan Plá in *Pueblo* (Madrid), July 1, 1971.
24. Testimony of Julián Merino.
25. Testimony, June 2001.
26. Testimony of Manuel Fraga, January 2001.
27. Testimony of Gabriel Gómez.
28. Testimony of Mariluz Barreiros.
29. The visitor was (Sir) Diarmid Downs of the English firm Harry Ricardo, in June 1956.
30. Testimony of Julián Merino.
31. Testimony of Mario Gamarra.
32. Testimony of Graciliano.
33. Testimony of Juan Godoy Toharia, Entrevista, 17.
34. Testimony of Juan Antonio Alonso Collar.
35. *Actas de la junta de administración*, C, 1 v, Barreiros Archive.
36. Testimony of Julián Merino.
37. Testimony of Merino, January 2001.
38. ADE 05 310, Barreiros Archive.
39. *Financial Times*, January 9, 1953.
40. Commentary of Bernard Malley in British embassy papers, Public Record Office, London.
41. Work in seriousness would begin May 4, 1954. There would be four air bases: Torrejón, Madrid, for fighters and bombers, to cost $43 million; El Copero, Seville, for bombers, to cost $30 million; Morón, Seville, also for bombers, $12 million; and Zaragoza, for fighters, $13 million. A naval base would be built at Rota near el Puerto de Santa María. A 570-mile oil pipeline costing $25 million (an estimate later revised to $36.6 million) would link all U.S. air and naval installations, and there would also be a telecommunications and radar station network at $14 million.
42. Texto 1, 46.
43. Estimate of Bernard Malley of the British embassy in Madrid in a report of February 7, 1955, British embassy papers, Public Record Office, London.
44. García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 126.
45. Ibid., 127, 205.
46. Ónega, lecture at University of Corunna, 2003.
47. Girón, *Si la memoria no me falla*, 84.
48. ADE 1/085, Barreiros Archive.

49. The *motor de explosión* used petrol (*gasolina*) in which the vaporised mixture was exploded violently by a spark plug; the *motor de combustión interna* (diesel) was one in which the mixture of compressed air—forty to seventy atmospheres in the cylinder—was exploded by a small high-pressured jet of gas oil. The heat in the cylinder produced the combustion. These were very strong motors.
50. Registro Mercantil de Madrid, hoja no. 3361, in páginas sueltas, C14, Barreiros Archive.
51. García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 245.
52. ADE 3/077, Barreiros Archive.
53. Testimony of Joaquín Nebreda in 2001 and 2004.

18. THE VEHICLE OF PROGRESS

1. ADE 191/4, Barreiros Archive; and Márquez Paz, *Orto y ocaso de una empresa*, 23–25.
2. *Boletín de la Empresa*, June 15, 1967, Barreiros Archive.
3. Texto 1, 44–45.
4. ADE 191/4, Barreiros Archive.
5. ADE 1/146, letter of November 15, 1955, Barreiros Archive.
6. ADE 35, Barreiros Archive.
7. Ricart paper in Perkins Hispania, in Ballestero, *Juan Antonio Suanzes*, 119.
8. Wilfredo Ricart (1897–1974) was a Barcelona engineer with dark hair, green eyes, and white skin, and he was also a musician from a military background. In the 1930s Ricart was *ingeniero consultor independiente* and a member of SAE in New York. It was he who ordered Hispano Suiza to make a four-cylinder diesel engine inspired by the Junkers-Jumo. It had a cylinder of 1,600 cubic centrimetres and attained 44 horsepower at 2,000 rpm. He built about 100 of these, but he mounted only a few in trucks. In 1936 he went to Milan to escape from the civil war, where he worked for Alfa Romeo but eventually fell foul of Enzo Ferrari, who was responsible for the Alfa Romeo racing team. Ferrari asked Ricart why he wore shoes with heavy soles. Ricart replied: "The brain of a great technician is a delicate instrument which has to be carefully protected and, in order that it should not be damaged by rough ground or subjected to other irritations, it must be constantly cradled from shock" (Reynolds, *Engines and Enterprise*, 193).
9. The AST-669.
10. Comment to the author, summer 2003.
11. INI papers, April 10, 1958, by Wifredo Ricart. Suanzes Papers, cited in García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 114.
12. ADE 36, Barreiros Archive.
13. Memorandum in the Suanzes Papers, cited in García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 93–95.
14. Cited in García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 13.
15. Minute by Planell of November 17, 1956, on a paper by García Usano of November 14, 1956, in the Ministry of Industry files, Sección de Industria, Box 6,476. Quoted in García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*.
16. Testimony of Manolo Gómez.

17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Carr, *Spain*, 2.
20. MOSA continues to be a major distributor of Renault even today.
21. Testimony of Enrique Jarillo.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Texto 1, 44.
25. Actas C 3; also Actas de la Junta, 6–7.
26. This structure was normal in Spain in those days.
27. I always translate "consejeros" as "directors."
28. Minutes of the shareholders meeting, 8.
29. Ibid., 4 v.
30. The epigraph of the book is: "I am the sentry who is never relieved, he who receives all the ungrateful telegrams and decides solutions, he who watches while others sleep."
31. Franco Salgado, *Mis conversaciones*, 152.
32. ADE 3/049; letter to Manolo Cid dated March 3, 1955. Barreiros Archive.
33. Actas de la junta de accionistas, 10.
34. Document 8, box 73, Archive of the Banco de Bilbao and Vizcaya. Testimony of Boada, June 2001, and document made available by Boada. The offer to Boada was made in October 1957.
35. Born 1897, Calvo Rodés became a brigadier general. He must have been one of the very few army officers to become a member of the order of Alfonso X el Sabio.
36. Testimony of Horacio Pérez Vázquez.
37. Buero Vallejo, *Obras selectas*, 34.

19. ONWARD, BARREIROS!

1. Texto 1, 13, Commentary of Mario Gamarra. Eduardo gave an account to *El País* (Madrid), February 8, 1989 (to Malén Aznárez).
2. *El País* (Madrid), February 8, 1989.
3. Commentary of Mario Gamarra (in this and the following paragraph).
4. Eduardo arranged for an excellent, vivid film to be made of this test. This film was seen by Franco, who said, "There is a good *fábrica* in Villaverde. We must support it" (in Franco Salgado, *Mis conversaciones*, 468).
5. Comment of Juan Gayá.
6. Carranza to the director of the industrial delegation, February 10, 1958, Barreiros Archive.
7. Letter of April 25, 1958, from the *Jefe Nacional* to the Minister of Industry, Barreiros Archive.
8. Texto 1, 47. See also *El País* (Madrid), February 5, 1989.
9. *El País* (Madrid), February 5, 1989.
10. The first of these new lorries was the TT [todo terreno]-90-22 for civilian use. The TT-90-22 was for Portugal. Note that "90-22" meant 90 horsepower with two axles both of *tracción*; the "90–21" indicated two axles, only one of *tracción*.

11. García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 14.
12. Semprún interview in *El País* (Madrid), November 19, 2000.
13. "Un gran tímido," said C. Castilla del Pino, in *Cuadernos para el Diálogo* (Madrid), November 1976.
14. Texto 1, 15. See also *Revista Barreiros Diesel*, no. 1, November 1958, Barreiros Archive, for a picture.
15. Texto 1, 48.
16. The text of this letter of June 27, 1957, is in the Suanzes Papers, R-5799. In this and a later letter of April 23, 1960, Eduardo greeted Suanzes as a "paisano" and emphasised their common Gallego identity.
17. Suárez, *Francisco Franco y su tiempo*, VI, 8.
18. Abella, *La vida cotidiana*, 205.
19. Payne, *The Franco Regime*, 468–69.
20. *Fortune* (May 1960): 99.

20. MY BOYFRIEND WORKS IN BARREIROS

1. ADE 191, Barreiros Archive. Of these, 25,000 to 45,000 came from a china factory named Mary Paz at the other side of the railway line to Toledo, where there was soon installed the Hanomag factory and then the foundry. Later—in 1960—Eduardo bought more land next to Villaverde for the manufacture of lorries and gearboxes, as well as "ejes motrices" on the David Brown licence.
2. I am grateful to the director of the historical section of the College of Architects of Madrid, Miguel Lasso de la Vega, for his help in this paragraph. Part of the work was done in collaboration with Luis Manso Roca.
3. The figures are difficult to estimate exactly, but the figure given by José Antonio Carranza in a letter of February 10, 1958, in the Barreiros Archive to the Ministry of Industry asking permission to build the trucks for Portugal was 1,267 "entre técnicos, administrativos y obreros."
4. Feijóo, *Primera Biografía*, 2, Barreiros Archive.
5. García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 234.
6. I heard the memory expressed by workers in Villaverde in 2001.
7. Guisasola, memorandum, Barreiros Archive, 41.
8. Testimony of Enrique Jarillo.
9. Testimony of Luis María Corella.
10. Commentary of Mario Gamarra.
11. Testimony of Fernández Baquero.
12. Testimony of Mario Gamarra.
13. Malén Aznárez, in *El País* (Madrid), February 5, 1989.

21. THE FACTORY OF HAPPINESS

1. Benito Pérez Galdós, *La de Bringas*, tr. Gamel Wolsey (London, 1953), 109.
2. Testimony of Juan Miguel Antoñanzas.
3. Testimony of Horacio Pérez Vazquez.

4. Franco, *Nosotros, los Franco*, 122.
5. Franco Salgado, *Mis conversaciones*, 310.
6. Testimony of Dr. José Luis Giráldez.
7. Winston Guest had been a sailing companion of Hemingway in the second world war and was a first cousin once removed of Sir Winston Churchill.
8. Comment of Carmen Franco, Duquesa de Franco.
9. Testimony of Vicente Eulate.
10. *Ya* (Madrid), June 15, 1969.
11. A *cacería* is for birds. A *caza mayor* or *montería* is for large animals such as wild boar or deer.
12. *Gaceta Ilustrada* (Madrid), May 2, 1972.
13. Testimony of Carmen, Duquesa de Franco.
14. Franco Salgado, *Mis conversaciones*, 230.
15. Quoted in Bayod, *Franco visto*, 78.
16. The rules of this game can be seen in *Enciclopedia Espasa Calpe*, vol. 37 (Madrid, 1918).
17. Martínez-Bordiú Ortega, *Franco en familia*, 94.
18. Alfonso Fierro was one of three rich sons of Ildefonso González-Fierro from León who made a fortune from a match monopoly.
19. Martínez-Bordiú Ortega, *Franco en familia*, 66.
20. Gil, *Cuarenta años junto a Franco*, 68.
21. See Franco Salgado, *Conversaciones*. The author was a *consejero* of Barreiros Diesel, we recall.
22. We see this opposition expressed in the Ministry of Industry paper Y 23.56.554 ac/mc of June 12, 1958, Barreiros Archive.
23. This passage is the consequence of a consultation with Juan Gayá.
24. Actas C, 15–16.
25. Testimony of Santiago Fernández Baquero.
26. Texto 1, 48. The directors were, all told, Eduardo, Valeriano, Graciliano, Celso, Bordegaray, José Miguel Stilianopoulos, a Philippine friend of Eduardo's, Andrés Martínez-Bordiú, and Fernando Martínez Banazar, with three English directors: David Brown Jr., Allan Avison, and James Whitehead.
27. I am grateful for the help here from Sam Littlewood of David Brown Engineering.
28. See Chris Moxon, *Life at Full Throttle, Thoroughbred and Classic Cars* (London, 2004), 260.
29. Actas C, 15–16.
30. Testimony of Paul Berliet.
31. Testimony of Gamarra and Paul Berliet.
32. A dumper is a lorry whose contents can be emptied without handling. The front end of the platform is pneumatically raised so that the load is discharged by gravity.
33. They would be 50 to 150 horsepower.
34. For example, *La Región* (Orense), March 26, 1941.
35. Hans Karl Schmidt, Hana Ottemeyer, and Otto Merkler.
36. Later director general of engineering. He was one of those of whom later the men from Chrysler approved. He died in 1995.

37. Comment by Fernando Ónega.
38. Texto 1, 52.
39. See J. D. Slater, *Return to Go: My Autobiography* (London, 1977).
40. The directors were Ignacio Liniers, Charles Henry Thomas, Fred Simpson Ratcliffe, José Manuel Stilianopoulos ("the Philippine"), A. Madariaga Anglada, José Sáinz de la Cuesta, and Domingo Saavedra (sometime mayor of Orense).
41. García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 129.
42. *Revista Barreiros*, February–March 1961.
43. García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 129.
44. Santiago Fernández Baquero, unpublished memorandum in the possession of the author, 3.
45. The EB-100 had four cylinders that gave 6228 hp and 100 hp at 2200 rpm, while the EB-150 had six cylinders, 115 by 150, which gave 9350 cubic centimetres and ran at 150 horsepower at 2200 rpm. Later the bore of cylinders was changed from 115 to 120 millimetre and power rises 115 and 170 hp, with the new names B-24 and B-26.
46. Onieva was the president, Óscar Vidal vice president. The other *consejeros* were Otto Merker, Rafael Rueda Moyano, Eduardo Onieva, and Fernández Quintas.
47. Testimony of Antoñanzas.
48. Testimony of Mario Gamarra and Fernando Alonso Mella.
49. *Fortune*, May 1960.

22. WE WORKED WITH OPTIMISM

1. The exact figures were 11,597 and 612.
2. Works in Cartagena continued until the 1960s.
3. ENASA Barcelona and Altos Hornos de Vizcaya in Bilbao were, of course, bigger.
4. The Azor was a lorry capable of carrying a load of 12,000 kilograms, two axles, with the motor B-24 of four cylinders and 115 horsepower. It had a "Panoramic" cabin, inspired by Berliet if designed by Barreiros. It was made by Elejabarri of Bilbao.
5. The B-26 of 170 horsepower, to substitute for the B-24 of 115 horsepower.
6. Comment of Manolo Gómez.
7. Texto 1, 51.
8. García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 273.
9. Márquez Paz, *Orto y ocaso de una empresa*, 93.
10. Testimony of Fernández Baquero.
11. Fernández Baquero memorandum, 8, in the possession of the author.
12. Testimony of Juan Gayá.
13. Fernández Baquero memorandum, 10.
14. Not to be confused with José María Castaño Pillet, discussed in Chapter 17. Testimony of José del Castaño.
15. Testimony of Fernández Quintas. The chassis of the lorry that dealt with Cuban rubbish was made in France, not Spain.
16. He was an "old Communist" who in 1957 had begun talks with anti-Batista Labour leaders.
17. Cavero, lecture at the University of Corunna, April 22, 2002.

18. *Revista Barreiros*, March–July 1961.
19. *Revista Barreiros*, September–October 1960.
20. Ibid.
21. Testimony of Sir Diarmid Downs.

23. YOUR CALL PERSUADED ME

1. Actas de la junta de administración, May 18, 1959.
2. Torróntegui was considered the most brilliant businessman of Bilbao. In addition to his interests in Babcock Wilcox, he was professor of the school of engineers at Bilbao, director of many enterprises, and benefactor of Joaquín Nebreda, the head of research in the bank. See unpublished memoir of the latter, Madrid 2006, Barreiros Archive.
3. Doc. 8, in box 70, Archives of the Banco de Bilbao and Vizcaya. Bordegaray to Eulate, September 25, 1959.
4. Payne, *The Franco Regime*, 469.
5. Ballestero, *Juan Antonio Suanzes*, 356.
6. Ibid., 356.
7. *World Bank Report* (Washington, D.C., 1962), 46.
8. Ibid.
9. Gimeno Valledor and Maseda, *Los Dodge españoles*, 123. For Villalonga, see Torres, *Los 100 empresarios*, 354ff.
10. SAVA's president was the Italian Scrimieri.
11. Four cylinders, 1900 cubic centimetres, 55 horsepower at 4,000 rpm.
12. Letter of June 1, 1960, folder 242, SEPI Archive, within the Barreiros Archive.
13. Both Chrysler and Barreiros Diesel were interested in SIMCA.
14. Testimony of Vicente Eulate. Rootes was not really self-made, being the son of a manufacturer of bicycles.
15. *Revista Barreiros*, March–July 1961.
16. Planell was the creature of the president of INI and never deviated from his interpretation of politics.
17. Carl Friderich Borgward (1890–1963) seemed to recover quickly after the war. But as his biographer recalls he paid more attention to his designs than his accounts. See Jerry Sloniger, *Automobile Quarterly* 6 (1963): 3.
18. García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 21; Gimeno Valledor and Maseda, *Los Dodge españoles*, 40;
19. Testimony of Enrique Jarillo.
20. *Biographical Dictionary of Business*, ed. David J. Jeremy, 5 vols. (London, 1984).
21. Testimony of Fernández Quintas.
22. Paul Hoffman in *New York Times*, November 2, 1964.

24. WE BESEECH YOU TO REFUSE A LICENCE

1. *Revista Barreiros*, September 1963.
2. Ibid.

3. The Saeta series had six models from the SAETA 25 with a C-24 motor of 60 horsepower (hp) and a possible load of 2,500 kilograms, to the SAETA 75 with a C-26 motor of 130 hp capable of carrying 7,500 kilograms. The Saeta could go three hundred miles without a stop, the Azor II four hundred, the Víctor more (*Revista Barreiros*, September 1963).
4. Testimony of Fernández Baquero.
5. Testimony of Abella.
6. According to ADE 191/4 (Barreiros Archive) the exact sum was 2,151,345,666.
7. These figures are in Gimeno Valledor, *El Dodge*, 43.
8. ADE 82, Barreiros Archive.
9. Unknown, perhaps Ignacio Landa, perhaps Roy, to Bordegaray, January 24, 1962, BBVA Archive.
10. Bordegaray letter to Joaquín Eulate, in Archivo del Banco de Vizcaya.
11. Bordegaray letter to Ignacio Landa, BBVA Archive.
12. Texto 1, 52.
13. No such statistics can be accurate.
14. Comment of Gonzalo Lacalle.
15. Márquez Paz, *Orto y ocaso de una empresa*, 103.
16. Ibid., 103.
17. Ibid., 104.
18. Testimony of José Fariña.
19. Roy to Bordegaray, in Banco de Vizcaya archive, Bilbao.
20. Roy to Bordegaray, February 7, 1963, Banco de Vizcaya archive.
21. Bordegaray to Roy, February 8, 1963, Banco de Vizcaya archive.
22. Girón, who said of him "he was a good, open, and clear headed man" (*Si la memoria no me falla*, 202).
23. This was José Ángel Sánchez Asiaín, during a personal interview with the author.
24. Personal interview with Juan Llorens, who then worked in Pegaso.
25. Neither José Ángel Sánchez Asiaín, who was secretary general of the ministry of industry from 1962 to 1966, nor Ángel de las Cuevas, who was López Bravo's secretary, recall any antipathy between Eduardo and López Bravo.
26. Compañía Española de Petróleos S.A.
27. Testimony of John Fitzpatrick. *Business Week*, November 13, 1965, published an article confirming that Eduardo took the initiative with Fitzpatrick.
28. Testimony of John Fitzpatrick, Washington, D.C., November 2004.
29. García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 147.
30. Schwartz and González, *Una historia del Instituto Nacional de Industria*, 8.
31. Quoted in Suárez Fernández, *Francisco Franco*, VII, 17, 119.

25. BOYS ALWAYS RUN AFTER MOTOR CARS

1. Langwirth, *Chrysler and Imperial*, 1976.
2. The Dodge brothers had been rough-living, hard-drinking men but devoted to each other and also philanthropic: they had financed the Detroit Symphony Orchestra. Like Eduardo, they organised medical care in their factories and gave beer and sandwiches

to their workers. In the first world war the government used their lorries as army vehicles and ambulances. They both died in 1920, one of influenza, the other of drink.

3. Goodwin, *No Ordinary Time*, 353.
4. Jeffreys, *Management and Managed*, ix.
5. Langwirth, *Chrysler and Imperial*, 36.
6. *Fortune*, May 1949.
7. Langwirth, *Chrysler and Imperial*, 136.
8. Halberstam, *The Reckoning*, 86.
9. Texto 1, 53.
10. Jeffreys, *Management and Managed*, 236.
11. Testimony of Dorinda.
12. Testimony of John Fitzpatrick, November 2004.
13. Dorinda remembers this occasion because she wanted to buy some Kore suitcases and had a number sent to her hotel, the Waldorf-Astoria, on approval. Eduardo, who had to return urgently to Madrid, went back to the hotel in Dorinda's absence and left for Spain carrying all the fifteen empty suitcases of which Dorinda really had planned to buy only two or three.
14. *Business Week*, November 13, 1965.
15. Whitaker, *Spain and Defence of the West*, 66.
16. *The Report on Spain* (Washington, D.C., 1963), 156.
17. For a report of the conversations between Franco and Eisenhower, see *Foreign Relations of the United States*, Vol. 7 (Washington, D.C., 1982), 742ff.
18. Testimony of Cavero.
19. Comment of Cavero to the author.
20. Comment of Cavero to the author.
21. Actas C, 35v–37v.
22. Conversation between the author and Valeriano Barreiros *hijo*.
23. Testimony of Antoñanzas.
24. Comment of Cavero to the author.
25. *Automovilística*, October 1963; reading of Fariña; personal recollections of those present.
26. *Financial Times*, March 17, 1964.
27. This alarming provision figures in para. 4 of the contract.
28. The contract itself is in the Garrigues Archive. I could not find it in the Barreiros Archive, but see the letter of Eduardo to López-Bravo of January 20, 1967, in ADE 291, Barreiros Archive.
29. Baquero memorandum, 12, in the possession of the author.
30. Testimony of González Gurriarán, who was the son of that director of the Banco Pastor for Orense who tried to negotiate Eduardo's first ever bank loan in 1945. He was later himself a director of Eduardo's companies in the 1970s.
31. Fernández Quintas to the author.
32. Testimony of Fernández Quintas.
33. Suárez Fernández, *Francisco Franco*, VII, 119.
34. Comment of Horacio Pérez Vázquez to the author.

26. A UNIVERSITY OF WORK

1. *Business Week*, November 13, 1965.
2. Graciliano married María Teresa ("Mayte") Spinola in November 1963, Valeriano married Marta Cotoner in February 1964, Celso married María José Juste in October 1964.
3. See *Revista Barreiros*, October 1964.
4. There is a photograph of the computer room in Villaverde in the *Boletín de la Empresa* in February 1967.
5. The record of the speeches on this occasion can be heard on a tape in the archivo de Eduardo Barreiros.
6. Cebrián lecture at University of Corunna, April 23, 2002.
7. Testimony of Enrique Jarillo on his return from Mexico in October 1966.
8. Texto 1, 53. Testimony of Belarmino Peña.
9. The contract between Eduardo and Hereil is in the Garrigues Archive.
10. It was a car with an engine of six cylinders.
11. Gómez Valledor and Roca Maseda, *Los Dodge*, 44.
12. These had not yet begun to be marketed.
13. *Pueblo* (Madrid), March 1, 1966.
14. Bordegary to Roy, October 24, 1963; *La Región* (Orense), November 11, 1966, in páginas sueltas, 26, Barreiros Archive.
15. *Revista Barreiros*, March 1965.
16. ADP 02, Barreiros Archive.
17. Franco Salgado, *Mis conversaciones*, 397–98.
18. Márquez Paz, *Orto y ocaso de una empresa*, 165. This was the law of associations. In 1950 the Conde de Gamazo held a social reception for the Infanta Beatriz. He told the police of his intention and was told that he could have twenty guests. One hundred and fifty arrived. The police came, the Infanta left. In this case, though, the Conde was not fined, but he could have been.
19. Testimony of Juan Gayá.
20. Paul Berliet, born 1919, was son of the founder of the firm Marius Berliet, of which he became president in 1959.
21. Paul Berliet memorandum in possession of the author.
22. Letter to the author from Juan Miguel Antoñanzas, January 20, 2005.
23. García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 243 n. 50.
24. *Boletín de la Empresa*, October 13, 1967, Barreiros Archive.
25. Antoñanzas to the author.
26. *Boletín de la Empresa*, November 15, 1965, Barreiros Archive.
27. Fariña, *Los invasores*, 50.
28. García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 256.
29. This increase in the standard of living is also reflected in the following figures: 325,000 refrigerators in Spanish houses instead of 21,000 in 1958; and 450,000 television sets found in the country in 1965. Abella Bermejo, *La vida cotidiana*, 265.
30. ADP 3/00031, Barreiros Archive.

31. Iglesias, *The Goodbye Land* (New York, 1965), 27. Iglesias was in every sense a New Yorker since he was a contributor to the journal of that name.
32. This letter can be found in páginas sueltas, 7, Barreiros Archive.
33. The expression "tears, sweat, and blood" may seem Churchillian, but Niceto Alcalá Zamora said of Diego Martínez Barrio in 1934 that he was "a man of blood, mud and tears" (Frank Jellinek, *The Civil War in Spain* [London, 1938], 125).
34. Testimony of Julio Vidal. Vidal was one of the few workers for Barreiros Diesel who came from a Republican background. He was born in Corunna in 1934. His father, who was at the time director of *Noreste*, a Republican paper, was imprisoned in July 1936 and remanded in gaol eight years. The child Julio used to go regularly with his grandfather to take food to his father. He later went to Campion Hall Oxford and then worked for Brown Raymond and Walsh as a cost accountant at Torrejón base and afterwards became a director of Hispano Americano Turismo, of which Barreiros was a client.

27. THE NEW GODS FROM THE WEST

1. Testimony of Horacio Pérez Vázquez.
2. Testimony of Fernández Baquero.
3. Irving Minett, memorandum to the author.
4. Fariña Jamardo, *Los invasores*, 2.
5. Testimony of Fernández Baquero.
6. Fariña, *Los invasores*, 27.
7. Suárez Fernández, *Francisco Franco*, VII, 441.
8. Testimony of Carranza.
9. Fariña, *Los invasores*, 28.
10. *Revista Barreiros*, January–February 1964.
11. Testimony of Fernández Baquero and of Justo García de Vicuña.
12. Testimony of Minett.
13. Testimony of Rafael Abella.
14. Fariña, *Los invasores*, 123.
15. I discussed this innovation with Justo García de Vicuña, who was a highly motivated representative of the workers from 1964 to 1969.
16. The offending document is in ADE 207, Barreiros Archive.
17. Actas C 64v–65v.
18. Fernández Baquero memorandum, 13, in the possession of the author.
19. Testimony of Justo García de Vicuña.
20. Testimony of Fernández Baquero.
21. Juan Gayá confirms.
22. Testimony of Fernández Baquero.
23. This 1000 GT was a more luxurious model than its predecessor.
24. Testimony of Mario Gamarra.
25. Fernández Baquero memorandum, 16, in possession of the author.
26. *Boletín de la Empresa*, June 21, 1965, Barreiros Archive.
27. Gimeno Valledor and Roca Maseda, *Los Dodge*, 48.

28. Texto 1, 53.
29. ADE 297/4, Barreiros Archive.
30. Suanzes Papers, box 44, quoted in García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 24; *Revista Barreiros*, March 1966; Márquez Paz, *Orto y ocaso de una empresa*, 119.
31. Comment of Juan Enrique Jiménez Parra.
32. Franco Salgado, *Mis conversaciones*.
33. See March 1966 issue of the *Revista Barreiros*, where there are pictures of the leading Chrysler people and their wives.
34. Actas C, 92v–97v.
35. Testimony of Fitzpatrick. The shoot was amply covered in *Hola* (Madrid), by then the essential witness of all such events.
36. A man of distinction and liberal sympathies, de Ávalos had been director of the archeological museum of Mérida before 1936 and narrowly escaped with his life in consequence. He was for some years in exile in Portugal before returning to Madrid, where he became in effect "the sculptor of the regime." Active even in his nineties he designed a statue of Pope John Paul II before he suffered at that time a contemptible robbery in his studio that causes one to reflect on the evil of human nature in the twenty-first century.
37. After 2000 A.D., prime minister of his old kingdom.
38. ADP 3/006. This was the dinner reported by *Hola* (Madrid), January 29, 1966. One of those present (Luis María Corella) recalls that some of the Americans drank too much and that a quarrel followed between Eduardo and Townsend.
39. In Suanzes Papers, 1.

28. DISAGREEMENT WITH THE AMERICANS

1. Testimony of Mariluz Barreiros.
2. Testimony of Íñigo Cavero.
3. Testimony of Aline, Condesa de Romamones.
4. *Informaciones* (Madrid), January 27, 1966.
5. Fernández Baquero memorandum, 17, in the possession of the author.
6. Unattributed press cutting c. March 30, 1966, in páginas sueltas, 25, Barreiros Archive.
7. Fernández Baquero memorandum, 21.
8. Fariña, *Los invasores*, 123.
9. MEBUM FB 0722, páginas sueltas, 26, Barreiros Archive.
10. See García Ruiz, *Sobre ruedas*, 62, for other investors.
11. Summary in the report of the administration 1966–1970, "Nueva orientación empresarial y proyección internacional," 209.
12. Letter of Scrimieri of June 24, 1966, to Ignacio Muñoz Rojas. Also a letter from Rosario Scrimieri to the author of March 2, 2005, and her subsequent comments.
13. Testimony of Cosme and Rosario Scrimieri.
14. Testimony of Feijóo.
15. COFIC was constituted February 1, 1966, with a capital of 100 million pesetas, subscribed to by BD 60 percent; Boston Oversea Finance Corporation, 10 percent; and 6

percent from the following: La Banque de l'Union Parisienne, Compagnie Financière et Industrielle, Finanziamenti Scambi ed Anticipazioni, and the Union Financière de Paris. Eduardo was president and the *vocales* were Valeriano, Graciliano, Celso, Arthur Cole, Habib, Lindhorst, Carranza, Gilberte Beaux, Federico Bruno, Charles Dumont, Jean Lamson, Cavero, who was secretary, and a Bostonian representative. The aim was sales *a plazos*. Chrysler ran this. It later became Chrysler Corporación Financiera S.A. (García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 164–317).

16. ADE 297/4, Barreiros Archive.
17. García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 258.
18. Ibid.
19. *Boletín de la Empresa*, November 1, 1966.
20. *Boletín de la Empresa*, November 1967.
21. *Informaciones*, June 20, 1968.
22. From a document in the possession of the author, FAISAL 27 Safar de 1386 (June 16, 1966).
23. Testimony of Ramón Carranza.
24. *Boletín de la Empresa*, October 1, 1966.
25. *Boletín de la Empresa*, September 15, 1966.
26. MEBUM FB 0798, páginas sueltas, 26, Barreiros Archive.
27. In May 1966 one new subsidiary company of Barreiros Diesel was founded. This was AYTEMISA (Aire y Temperatura S.A.), whose purpose was to make the air-conditioning system for the Dodge deluxe. Habib was the president. Director-general was José Antonio Medina Cubillos, who was soon succeeded by Charles H. Palmer.
28. Testimony of Santiago Fernández Baquero.
29. Comment of Fernández Quintas.
30. Fernández Baquero memorandum, 19.
31. Fariña, *Los invasores*, 72–73.
32. Testimony of Carranza.
33. Roy to Bordegaray, in Banco de Vizcaya Archive.
34. Testimony of José Fariña.
35. Fariña, *Los invasores*, 76.
36. Ibid., 78–79.

29. VERY SAD FOR US

1. Negotiations for this loan had begun in October 1966. To confirm these details I studied the papers in the Barreiros Diesel-Warburg & Co. file of the bufete de Antonio Garrigues, who acted for Eduardo in this matter. Slaughter and May acted for Warburg. On a minor note, the translations of Warburg's comunications into Spanish and Barreiros's or Garrigues's into English were well done (by Garrigues), a contrast with what was often done by Chrysler.
2. García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 169.
3. Gimeno Valledor and Roca Maseda, *Los Dodge*, 53.
4. *ABC*, November 1, 1966, in páginas sueltas, 26, Barreiros Archive.

5. Referred to in Graham letter to Eduardo of August 18, 1967, in the Barreiros Archive.
6. Páginas sueltas, B5, Barreiros Archive.
7. Bordegaray draft, Barreiros Archive.
8. The countries were: Brazil, Cuba, Egypt, Colombia, Guatemala, Bolivia, Paraguay, Ghana, Turkey, Bulgaria, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, India, Uruguay, Guinea, Portugal, Ecuador, Honduras, Morocco, Panama, Venezuela, and Iraq.
9. *Informaciones Económicas*, 1969, in páginas sueltas, 28, Barreiros Archive.
10. Ángel Palomino Rodríguez, born in Madrid on March 26, 1931, sub-director general of international sales, joined the empresa on August 18, 1958.
11. Testimony of Graciliano Barreiros and of Castaño. For U.S. hostility to any Spanish trading with Cuba, see for example a conversation between President Johnson and Ambassador Garrigues in 1964, in Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, XII, 363. Ambassador Garrigues said that Spain needed sugar and Cuba was the best source. This continued to be an issue of importance in subsequent years.
12. Testimony of Cavero.
13. Fariña, *Los invasores*, 89.
14. Ibid., 90.
15. Letter of Eduardo Barreiros to López Bravo, January 13, 1967, Barreiros Archive.
16. ADE 297/3; letter to López Bravo, January 20, 1967, Barreiros Archive.
17. Ibid.
18. García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 172.
19. ADE 2907/8, Barreiros Archive.
20. *Informaciones*, February 14, 1967, quoted in García Ruiz, *Sobre ruedas*, 43.
21. These may have been speaking notes from which he intended to address them.
22. This is in páginas sueltas, Barreiros Archive. Perhaps Eduardo used it as a note to help him when talking to his brothers.
23. Diplomatic correspondence, April 25, 1967, in páginas sueltas, 27, Barreiros Archive.
24. Actas C II, 27–32v.
25. ADE 297/6, Barreiros Archive.
26. Jeffreys, *Chrysler*, 256.
27. These costs essentially derived from a substantial drop in sales, and also from an increase of costs associated with the fulfilment of the different guarantees given for the sales, new investments in the fábrica, and excessive accumulation of primary materials.
28. ADE 297/8, Barreiros Archive.
29. Eduardo Barreiros declaration at Board of Directors, August, 3, 1967, Barreiros Archive.
30. Actas C II, 36v-38. The approach to Warburg for a delay seems only to have been made on August 1 (Telegram of August 2, in the Garrigues Archive).
31. Memo of August 4, 1967, unsigned and not given an archival number, Barreiros Archive.
32. Ibid.
33. *Autorevista*, no. 626, in May 1969 in páginas sueltas, 28, Barreiros Archive.
34. Erwin Graham, letter to Eduardo Barreiros, August 18, 1967, Barreiros Archive.
35. García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 175.

36. Manuel Fraga told me that he remembered the discussion only vaguely.
37. ADE 297/9/3; see also memorandum of March 21, 1969, by Chrysler, Barreiros Archive. *New York Times*, October 16, 1967.
38. Minett memorandum to the author.
39. Garrigues Archive.
40. Letter of October 11 of Eduardo Barreiros, Barreiros Archive.
41. García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 180.
42. *The Director*, August 1967.

30. A COMBINATION OF ADVERSITIES

1. ADE 297, Barreiros Archive.
2. Eduardo hired a boat especially to carry the Panter to Saudi Arabia for a test, the intermediary Kashoggi taking 25 percent of the cost in return for introducing everyone (testimony of Vidal).
3. Gimeno Valledor and Roca Maseda, *Los Dodge españoles*, 5.
4. Testimony of Carlos Otero Insúa.
5. Halberstam, *The Reckoning*, 548. In 1971 the company's debt would stand at $791 million.
6. Testimony of Justo García de Vicuña.
7. Cheseborough had been chief body engineer in 1952, a general manager of the Plymouth division in 1958.
8. Actas C II, 41–44v.
9. Testimony of José Utrera to the author.
10. Actas C II, 44v–49v.
11. ADE 292, Barreiros Archive. MOSA continues even today the most important distributor of Renault, which later took over from Chrysler.
12. Fariña, *Los invasores*, 98–99.
13. Ibid., 103.
14. Actas de la Junta de Accionistas, 88.
15. Páginas sueltas, 3, Barreiros Archive.
16. Fariña, *Los invasores*, 81, 82.
17. Actas C 55, 54–56v.
18. The idea of the GT 3700 was launched (Gimeno and Roca Maseda, *Los Dodge*, 56–57).
19. Ibid., 60. The aim was to sell this Dodge Dart Diesel for taxis and the taxistas were pleased. It was suitable for the city.
20. Antoñanzas left at the end of 1968.
21. The *comisión administrativa* over which Charipar presided consisted of Antoñanzas, Fernández Quintas, Habib, W. H. Humphrey, A. H. Langdon, J. Montes, and Ynclán, Cavero being secretary.
22. Testimony of Antoñanzas to the author.
23. Letter from Antoñanzas to the author, January 20, 2005.
24. Testimony of Graciliano.

25. Andrés García Marcos in Entrevista, 36.
26. Fariña, *Los invasores*, 127.
27. Gimeno Valledor and Roca Maseda, *Los Dodge*, 64.
28. *Pueblo*, May 26, 1969.
29. Texto 2, 20.
30. Páginas sueltas, C15, Barreiros Archive.

31. WE NEVER THOUGHT THAT WE WOULD REACH THIS MOMENT

1. A document summarising this proposal and signed by J. M. Galvin, director of finance, can be seen in the Barreiros section of the Garrigues Archive.
2. Ibid. The original is in ADE 320/3, Barreiros Archive.
3. Minutes of the Board of Management, March 21, 1969, Barreiros Archive. All quotes in this and the following paragraphs from these minutes.
4. Testimony of Cavero; the Acta is in the books of actas and also in Garrigues Archive. Presumably this was the meeting at which Eduardo accused the Chrysler staff of being incompetent, immoral, and mendacious. I have retranslated the statement of Eduardo since the English version circulated at the time is barely comprehensible.
5. Testimony of Cavero.
6. The Acta is in the books of actas and also in the Garrigues Archive.
7. Actas C II 59–65v. Eduardo alluded to this meeting in a note to the board in two languages later in the year (ADE 323, Barreiros Archive).
8. Actas C II 66–70.
9. Memorandum of April 23, 1969, to Chrysler, Barreiros Archive.
10. Ibid.
11. ADE 321, Barreiros Archive. The letter was very badly translated into English. It could hardly have been comprehensible. I have ventured to correct it.
12. ADE 322, Barreiros Archive. There is a copy in Spanish in the Barreiros file in the Garrigues Archive.
13. Testimony of Enrique Fernández.
14. Páginas sueltas, 29, Barreiros Archive.
15. Georges Hereil (born 1900) had replaced M. H. Pigozi as chairman of SIMCA in 1963. Previously he had been known as the inspired creator of the French aircraft the Caravelle. He had good relations always with the United States, being European representative of Lehman Brothers.
16. Actas C II, 71v-76v.
17. Text in English and Spanish in ADE 323, Barreiros Archive.
18. Actas C, II, 71v-76v.
19. Testimony of Enrique Fernández and José María Alonso Collar.
20. Entrevista, 26.
21. Entrevista, 29.
22. Entrevista, 53.
23. *Ya* (Madrid), May 25, 1969, in páginas sueltas, 28, Barreiros Archive.

24. Páginas sueltas, l, Barreiros Archive.
25. Letter of Eduardo Barreiros to José Luis Corral, Barreiros Archive.
26. Nemesio Fernández Cuesta, in *Arriba* (Madrid), May 27, 1969.
27. *New York Times*, May 28, 1969.
28. *Business Week*, June 1969.
29. *Time*, July 13, 1969.
30. *Pueblo* (Madrid), June 7, 1969.
31. *Actualidad Económica*, June 7, 1969. The same article was published in *Autorevista*, no. 626, of which I have a copy.
32. *ABC*, May 29, 1969, in páginas sueltas, 28, Barreiros Archive.
33. *Arriba*, May 29, 1969.
34. García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 189.
35. *Informaciones*, June 5, 1969, in páginas sueltas, 28, Barreiros Archive.
36. *Diario SP* (Madrid), June 5, 1969.
37. Testimony of José María Alonso Collar.
38. ADE 320–9, Barreiros Archive.
39. Document of July 10, 1969, by J & A Garrigues, in Docs. sueltos B-4, Garrigues Archive. The 68,177 family shares were held not only by Eduardo, Valeriano, Graciliano, Celso, and María but also by Financiera Iberoamericana, by the Sociedad de Actividades Económicas, the Oficina de Inversiones, Inversiones Bursátiles, Financiera Galicia, Financiera del Noreste, Banco de Vizcaya, and the Sociedad Anónima de Comercio e Inversiones.
40. Document of July 8 in the same file in the Garrigues Archive. Epifanio Ridruejo was a cousin of the Falangist writer Dionisio Ridruejo.
41. Text of the document of July 7, 1969, wth Richard Mackenzie, Jack Charipar, and Eduardo Barreiros present.
42. ADE 320/11, Barreiros Archive.
43. Eduardo soon gave this portrait to his daughter, Mariluz, who in turn gave it back to her father in 1979; it passed then to Mar Vega, sister-in-law of Higinio González Mayo, that old Gallego backer of Eduardo who was married to Oriente Vega.
44. "Jack" Fitzpatrick, Eduardo's old friend, was apparently charged by Juan Carlos to tell his father, Don Juan, of this event before it happened.
45. *ABC* (Madrid), July 24, 1969.

32. A PLACE IN LA MANCHA

1. Cavero to the author.
2. Letter of Francisco Chaves to the author, January 29, 2005.
3. Ibid.
4. *Gaceta Ilustrada* (Madrid), May 7, 1972.
5. In a document of 1982 prepared in relation to Eduardo's financial crisis of that year, the finca was said to be "más de 4,000 Ha" (Document 5 in Chillón Archive).
6. *Don Quijote*, ed. Francisco Rico (Barcelona, 1998), I, 467.
7. These comments derive from the Marqués de Griñón, a frequent visitor.

8. See Alía Miranda, *La guerra civil*.
9. Ibid., 222.
10. See Joaquín Arrarás, *Historia de la Cruzada Española*, vol. 5 (Madrid, 1939), 180, 181, 196. See Francisco J. Navarro Ruiz, *Crisis económica y conflictividad social*, Annex II.
11. Testimony of Carlos Rein.
12. *Gaceta Ilustrada* (Madrid), May 7, 1972.
13. Cited in Brenan, *The Spanish Labyrinth*, 356.
14. See Joaquín Costa, *Colectivismo agrario en España* (Madrid, 1898).
15. Testimony of Enrique Fernández and of Belarmino Peña.
16. For some of the details here I am indebted to Carlos Rein.
17. Testimony of José Manuel Góngora.
18. Testimony of Rosario Calderero Hernández.
19. Testimony of José Manuel Góngora.
20. Testimony of Mariluz Barreiros.
21. *Informaciones* (Madrid), January 15, 1972.
22. *Informaciones Económicas*, January 8, 1972.
23. Testimony of Mariluz Barreiros.
24. *Gaceta Ilustrada* (Madrid), May 7, 1972.
25. Testimony of Francisco García Navazo.
26. Páginas sueltas, 30, doc. 3, Barreiros Archive.
27. Halberstam, *The Reckoning*, 546.
28. Owen, *From Empire to Europe*, 235. See too Central Policy Review Staff, *The Future of the British Car Industry*, His Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO) (London, 1975).

33. LIFE HAS DEALT ME A BAD HAND

1. *Gaceta Ilustrada* (Madrid), May 1, 1972.
2. Testimony of José Manuel Góngora.
3. Ibid.
4. Letter shown to the author by Luis Megía II.
5. Letter from José Manuel Góngora to the author, January 2005.
6. *Ya*, May 26, 1970.
7. Alberto Comenge y Gerpe was the father of Mariluz Barreiros's first husband, Alberto Comenge.
8. Testimony of Belarmino Peña Moreno.
9. For Ortínez, see Josep Tarradellas, *Ja sóc aquí* (Barcelona, 1990), 100–101.
10. Letter of May 13, 1974, in Páginas sueltas, C3, Barreiros Archive.
11. There were, in addition, Carlos Viada and Adolfo Rodríguez Linares, young men who gave advice on geological and mining businesses. The secretaries were Enrique Fernández, Cervantes Villamarín, and María Pilar Fusi.
12. Algún Documento Personal 02, Barreiros Archive.
13. Algún Documento Personal 4/108, páginas sueltas, 30 Doc., Barreiros Archive.
14. Cited in Abella, *La vida cotidiana*, 1–2.
15. Eduardo does not, however, figure in the list of early *accionistas* in the splendid history

by María Cruz Seoane and Susana Sueiro, *Una historia de El País y del Grupo Prisa* (Barcelona, 2004).
16. Receipt no. 09090, Barreiros Archive.
17. Vernon Walters, *Silent Missions* (New York, 1978), 555.
18. Payne, *The Franco Regime*, 560, summarises these developments well.
19. See his memoirs, *Valió la pena* (Madrid, 1998). I talked to him in 2002.
20. Martínez Esteruelas, in Bayod, *Franco visto*, 381.
21. I am grateful to D. Juan Gayá for his help in establishing the "identity" of this car.
22. See Julen Aguirre, *Operación Ogro* (Paris, 1974).
23. For a discussion of his hopes and disillusions, see Gil, *Cuarenta años*, 140.
24. Ibid., 140.
25. Bayod, *Franco visto*, 310.
26. I remember being on a train in Spain in September 1959 about the time of the election won by Harold Macmillan in England. Entering into conversation with my neighbour, the latter made a gesture with his hands to indicate shooting, suggesting that that was what would happen in Spain if there were a similar election there.
27. Testimony of María Pilar Fusi.
28. Eduardo passed this information on to Mariluz, his daughter.
29. Fernández, *Franquismo*, 329.
30. Testimony of Estela Domínguez.
31. Testimony of Manuel Fraga.
32. Testimony of Carlos Rein.
33. Malén Aznárez, *El País* (Madrid), February 5, 1989.
34. Letter from Eduardo to both, still in their possession.
35. Document 2, Chillón Archive.
36. All this was worked out by González Gurriarán, who told me that dealing with Cesáreo was quite simple, that with Martín Esperanza less so. Eduardo did not want him to deal with Caito himself; he wanted him to talk to his son Ricardo (Caito II), and he did not want to go into details at all.
37. Such as the Fomento (to whom was owed 153 million pesetas), Banco Internacional de Comercio (166 million), Pastor, de La Coruña (25 million), Occidental (333 million), Popular (25 million), Valladolid (181 million), Central (128 million), Vizcaya (68.5 million), López Quesada (54 million), Urquijo (108 million), Zaragozano (88.5 million), and Banco Catalán (9 million). All figures are rounded up or down to avoid the tedium of nine-figure items!
38. Documents in Chillón Archive, del bufete de Pedrol Rius, who advised Eduardo at this time.
39. These included: (1) eleven pictures by: Madrazo, Sotomayor (two), Prego (two), Viola, Quirós, Macarrón, Agudo, Redondela, and Vírgen de Guadalupe. Six Persian carpets, two tapestries, one golden sculpture, one ivory sculpture; (2) one large tapestry, 4.5 x 3.25 m; (3) a flat with two floors in the Sierra Nevada; (4) Eduardo's hunting lodge (*Pabellón de caza*) in Villasequilla, Toledo, as well as the guard's house there; (5) two chalets in the Urbanización Sierra Guadarrama, Segovia; (6) two garage places en Edificio Central (Las Palmas); (7) more than twenty garage places in the most fashionable

part of Madrid (Castellana 68, y María de Molina 1); and (8) a boat that Eduardo had kept in La Toja that he had named after his son, Eduardo-Javier.
40. *Actualidad Económica* (Madrid), October 9, 1980.
41. A. Lavern in article in Feijóo Archives.
42. *El Periódico*, September 27, 1980.
43. Testimony of Mariluz Barreiros.
44. Letter of April 17, 1974, Mariluz Barreiros to Eduardo and Dorinda. She was at that time the guest of Manuel Fraga, then ambassador of Spain in London.
45. Testimony of María Pilar Fusi.

34. DON EDUARDO IN THE LAND OF COMRADES

1. Letter of Eduardo to the Government of Saudi Arabia, Barreiros Archive.
2. Testimony of José Miguel Stilianopoulos.
3. Testimony of Annabelle Rodríguez.
4. It had been fairly elected under the terms of the constitution of 1940.
5. Cited in Hugh Thomas, *Cuba or the Pursuit of Freedom* (London, 1971), 734.
6. The present author remembers a dinner in London in 1975 given by the enlightened labour minister, Harold Lever, then chancellor for the Duchy of Lancaster, in honour of Carlos Rafael, who was leading a Cuban delegation trying to negotiate a loan. After dinner, the two wings of the Labour party began to quarrel. Ian Mikardo, the left-wing member of parliament for Reading, denounced his host and another right-wing Labour member of parliament, Ben Ford, as if they had been traitors to the Labour movement. Carlos Rafael and his colleagues sat aloof with dignity.
7. Annabelle Rodríguez remembers the course of events slightly differently, suggesting that Eduardo took the initiative with Alfaras. She says that he and the ambassador persuaded Carlos Rafael to interest himself in making motors in Cuba.
8. Pablo Gimeno, "Eduardo Barreiros," 25.
9. Malén Aznárez, Interview with Eduardo Barreiros, *El País*, February 5, 1989.
10. See María Luisa Lobo Ryan, *Historia y architectura de La Habana* (New York, 2000).
11. Their elaborate programme can be seen in the archives.
12. The house was in Calle 146 in Vedado.
13. Testimony of Marcos Lage.
14. Minutes of the meeting of Carlos Rafael and Eduardo, March 3, 1978.
15. Letter of Eduardo to Castro, March 13, 1978, Barreiros Archive.
16. His scheme is in the Barreiros Archive, dated April 6, 1978.
17. Testimony of Cecilio González.
18. Testimony of María Pilar Fusi.
19. García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 32.
20. Testimony of Luis Gutiérrez.
21. Testimony of Juan Gayá, January 19, 2005.
22. Testimony of Juan Gayá.
23. The author spoke to Carlos Rafael Rodríguez in 1961 and 1962.
24. Barreiros Archive.

25. Testimony of Julio Lobo in 1965. See Thomas, *Cuba*, 1144.
26. Pablo Gimeno, "Eduardo Barreiros," 22.
27. Testimony of Ignacio González Planas, June 2001.
28. Cebrián to the author, January 2001.
29. Testimony of Annabelle Rodríguez.
30. Testimony of Rafael Vélez.
31. Testimony of Marcos Lage.
32. Testimony of Cecilo González to the author, January 30, 2002.
33. Comment of José Corona.
34. Texto 2, 25.
35. Memorandum of Eduardo, undated, in páginas sueltas, B, Barreiros Archive.
36. Testimony of Bernardo Cremades.
37. Contract between Carlos Rafael Rodríguez and Eduardo in December 13, 1980 (text in cajón 1, carpeta 24, Cuba section, Barreiros Archive).
38. Letter of Eduardo to Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, October 14, 1983. There was a contract drawn up and signed by Marcos Lage and Eduardo on November 7, 1983. (Text in cajón 1, carpeta 17.) All in Cuba section, Barreiros Archive.
39. Testimony of González Planas.

35. VILLAVERDE REVISITED

1. Mariluz Barreiros separated from Alberto Comenge in 1981, and at the end of that year she went to live in María de Molina.
2. For example, on June 24, 1986.
3. Fraga, *En busca del tiempo servido*, 371.
4. Comment of Mariluz Barreiros.
5. All those named are still living.
6. Jiménez Soler, *Las empresas de Cuba 1958*, I, 162.
7. Testimony of Marta González.
8. All these comments derive from a conversation I had with these workers at the present plant in June 2001.
9. Guisasola, memorandum, 26, Barreiros Archive.
10. Testimony of Luis Morente.
11. Testimony of Manuel Rubio.
12. Described by García Ruiz y Santos, *¡Es una motor español!*, 34.
13. Texto 2, 23.
14. Testimony of Mariluz Barreiros.
15. See summary of salaries in the archives of DIMISA. Total monthly salaries paid in Cuba reached 2,594,102 pesetas including Eduardo, who was paid 416,666 pesetas. Payments in Madrid reached 2,225,435 pesetas including Francisco Chaves, at 321,178 pesetas.
16. Guisasola left a memorandum of great value, now stored in the Barreiros Archive.
17. Gimeno, "Eduardo Barreiros," 123.
18. His work is described in detail by himself in Guisasola Berraondo, *Eduardo Barreiros*, 15–17.

19. About half the collaborators of Eduardo in Havana had Villaverde experience.
20. Testimony of Pedro Seco.
21. Testimony of Luis Morente.
22. Evidence of Julián Merino.
23. Páginas suelta, 33, Barreiros Archive. This was a "decalogue" from which I have omitted points 9 and 10.
24. Testimony of Pedro Seco.
25. Testimony of Antonio Iglesias.
26. Testimony of Luis Morente.
27. On October 28, 1982, the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE) won the Spanish elections with 202 seats, the so-called AP gained 107 seats, the Unión Central Democrática (UCD) had 11 deputies only.
28. MAN was Maschinenfabrik-Augsburg-Nüremberg.
29. Pablo Gimeno, "Eduardo Barreiros," 230.
30. Lloyd's report dated December 15, 1982, and signed by T. L. Palmer, inspector-general of Lloyd's Spain, in the Barreiros Archive.
31. Pablo Gimeno, "Eduardo Barreiros," 126.
32. Páginas sueltas, C 13, Barreiros Archive.
33. Pablo Gimeno, "Eduardo Barreiros," 126.
34. Testimony of Juan Gayá.
35. Comment of Juan Gayá.
36. There were two separate classes of cylinder blocks, one very weak for the diesel.
37. I am most grateful to Juan Gayá for his help in writing this paragraph.
38. Fidel Castro, *War and Crisis in the Americas, Speeches, 1984–85* (Havana, 1998), 110.
39. Skierca, *Fidel Castro*, 243.

36. I AM A BARREIROS PRODUCT

1. Testimony of Estela Domínguez.
2. Testimony of Estela Domínguez.
3. Páginas sueltas, 23, Barreiros Archive.
4. Testimony of Cecilio González.
5. Texto 3.
6. Testimony of Cecilio González.
7. See Quirk, *Fidel Castro*, 839.
8. For the story of the Ochoa scandal the best account is that of J. F. Fogel and B. Rosenthal, *Fin de siglo en La Habana*, Spanish ed. (Madrid, 1995).
9. Skierca, *Fidel Castro*, 257.
10. Ibid.
11. Private information.
12. Testimony of Cecilio González and of Ángel Jiménez. Juan Gayá worked in these rooms in Pinto.
13. Testimony of Cecilio González.
14. Páginas sueltas, C 12, Barreiros Archive.
15. Páginas sueltas, II, 4, Barreiros Archive.

16. Annex V to Guisasola, *Eduardo Barreiros en la automoción*. Eduardo seems to have sent this letter first to Carlos Rafael Rodríguez.
17. Testimony of González Planas.
18. Comment of Manuel Rubio.
19. Páginas sueltas, I, 21, Barreiros Archive.
20. *Bohemia (Havana)*, August 25, 1989.
21. *Diario de la Juventud Cubana*, February 19, 1989.
22. *Granma (Havana)*, November 19, 1989.
23. Páginas sueltas 34, l, Barreiros Archive.
24. Testimony of Estela Domínguez.
25. Páginas sueltas, 36, Barreiros Archive. Testimony of Estela Domínguez.
26. The only exception was the large Soviet eavesdropping system at Lourdes near Havana where Russia could listen to U.S. and Latin American conversations, Russia paying well—$200 milllion a year. It was not abandoned until 2002.
27. There is in the Barreiros Archive a paper entitled "Propuesta al gobierno de la República Popular de China," dated March 1, 1988.
28. This was produced at Pinto by Juan Gayá and two experts of Villaverde.
29. Testimony of Guisasola.
30. Pablo Gimeno, "Eduardo Barreiros," 5.
31. Páginas sueltas, 27, Barreiros Archive.
32. Testimony of Luis Gutiérrez.

EPILOGUE

1. Speech by Eduardo on being made *doctor honoris causa*, Havana, 1991.
2. Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (London, 1871), V, 465. He spoke in relation to the prophet Mahomet.
3. Aranguren, *La mujer en la sombra*, 259.
4. Ángel Guallan, *Diario de Barcelona*, July 8, 1964.
5. Testimony of Dorinda Ramos Barreiros.
6. Testimony of "Pitita" Ridruejo.
7. See Chapter 5 for more of these phrases.
8. Comment of María Pilar Fusi.
9. April 17, 1957, Eduardo to Manuel Gómez Masid, ADE 2/092, Barreiros Archive.
10. Comment of Mariluz Barreiros.
11. Testimony of Vicente Eulate.
12. Texto 1, 35.
13. Aranguren, *La mujer*, 253, 260.
14. *Miss*, January 1964.
15. Testimony of Julián Merino.
16. Baquero memorandum, 9, in possession of the author.
17. Michael Kennedy, *Strauss* (London, 1976), 7.
18. Baquero memorandum.
19. Testimony of Valero Alises.

20. Testimony of Annabelle Rodríguez.
21. Testimony of José Utrera Molina, deputy minister of labour in the 1960s, and minister of housing in the 1970s.
22. Testimony of the Revda. Hermana María Luz Barreiros.
23. Hankey to Foreign Office 1950, FO 371.
24. Testimony of Fernández Quintas.
25. *Pueblo* (Madrid), July 1, 1972.
26. Comment of Francisco Chappotin.
27. Testimony of Joaquín Nebreda.
28. Testimony of Mariluz Barreiros.
29. Testimony of Íñigo Cavero.
30. Ibid.
31. Personal interview, January 14, 1966.
32. Comment of Mariluz Barreiros.
33. Comment of the Duquesa de Franco.
34. Estela Domínguez to the author, June 2001.
35. Juan Luis Cebrián, lecture at University of Corunna, April 23, 2002.
36. *Vida Nueva*, September 1965.
37. Testimony of Mariluz Barreiros.
38. ADE 2/O72, Barreiros Archive.
39. Testimony of Mariluz Barreiros.
40. See *El País* (Madrid), February 8, 1989.
41. *Tribuna* (Madrid), October 14, 1991.
42. See *Gaceta Ilustrada* (Madrid), May 7, 1972.
43. Testimony of Juan Gayá.
44. *Tribuna*, October 14, 1991.
45. Letter to the author, January 5, 2005.
46. *Tribuna*, October 14, 1991.
47. Páginas sueltas, 22, Barreiros Archive.
48. *Gaceta Ilustrada*, May 5, 1972.
49. *El País*, February 8, 1989.
50. Ibid.
51. Testimonies of Estela Domínguez and Ignacio González Planas.
52. Baquero memorandum.
53. Páginas sueltas, 40, Barreiros Archive. These views were also published in *Bohemia* (Havana), August 29, 1989.
54. Figures in José María Martínez-Val Peñalosa, *Un empeño industrial que cambió España* (Madrid, 2001), 359.

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